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MEMOIR OF SIR R. H. BONNYCASTLE.

Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, Knight, Son of the late John Bonnycastle, Esquire, Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, was born in 1791; he married, in 1814, a daughter of Captain William Johnstone. In 1825 he became a Captain of the Royal Engineers, and in 1840 was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army. He served at Flushing in 1809: in America from 1812 to 1815: was commanding Royal Engineer in Canada West from 1837 to 1839: received his knighthood for services in the defence of Kingston, in Canada, in 1837: was commanding Royal Engineer in Newfoundland: and published a Work on Newfoundland—"The Canadas in 1841," &c.

Sir Richard was an officer of considerable literary and scientific acquirements, zealous in the discharge of his duties, an ardent student, and leaving, at his demise in 1848, a mass of interesting writings on

Canada—the most important Colony of Great Britain: this has now been arranged for publication.

The sentiments contained in these volumes will, doubtless, accord with those of every true patriot and loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen.

PREFACE.

THIS work is a continuation of "Canada in 1841 and in 1846," and with that work offers to the British reader a statement of the affairs of Canada; sketches of localities; a personal narrative of the late "troubles;" their causes and consequences; the policy pursued there; the effects of the immense public works in progress and completed, with anecdotes of personal observations, sketches of scenery, and generally every information which the Author conceived might be of use to the traveller, the military and the political reader, and particularly respecting the French Canadians and the Upper Canada Militia, and their conduct in the war of 1812, and the disturbances of 1837 and 1838. It is, in short, a personal narrative combined with a military and political examination of the Canadas.

Nearly fourteen years have elapsed since the insurrectionary troubles in Canada, and men's minds are no longer in a state of restlessness and uncertainty regarding the objects and matters of that outbreak. Many, very many of both parties in the struggle, have since gone to their final account. Canada is now an united country, and therefore the true object of its people

should be to prove that sectional differences no longer offer pretexts for political enmities.

The Author having been an officer employed actively in Militia duties during that eventful period of Canadian history, judged it right to place an impartial account of "the Rebellion," as it has somewhat magniloquently been styled, before the public.

Uninfluenced by party, professing only the good of the country, and the upholding of the renown of Britain, and possessed of very accurate information on the subject, he desired only that it may be considered that his work was mere matter of history, as far as that Rebellion is concerned, being fully aware that very different feelings now possess those persons who figured in the ranks of the rebel levies, and that those altered feelings would be displayed should United Canada be invaded by any foreign aggressor.

It is a pleasant thing to write a book, still more pleasant to print one, and superlatively pleasant to have it well received by one's countrymen; but an author, however he may satisfy his own feelings, soon finds that he has merely started from the point whereat he trusted he might fairly hope, as one candidate for fame, that his efforts would be crowned with at least partial success. That inexorable judge, the public, discovers many things in the course wherein the aspirant is wanting, and tells him plainly of his deficiencies without reserve and without remorse. He hears the truth, undistorted by personal vanity or by friendly commendation, and thus is enabled to rectify on a future occasion, as far as in him is, omissions, blunders, and errors.

When the Author wrote the four preceding volumes of "Canada in 1841 and 1846," it was merely with the intention of amusing the British public, from the results of extensive journeys over the vast regions of Canada in an official capacity; that country having then just emerged from a state of disquietude and distraction which had forcibly attracted the attention, not only of Great Britain, but of Europe and of America.

The public in both continents received those mere "Travelling Sketches" so favourably, that he determined to ransack his notes and memory once again, to open out further information, and he found very soon, on comparing the various notices of the work which had appeared from the periodical press, that there was a general desire to be made acquainted with as much of the real state of Transatlantic Britain as his opportunities could have afforded.

Duty had called him to the neglected and comparatively unknown colony of Newfoundland, and as he conceived that it was by nature part and parcel of the vast territory of Canada, and that its future interests were strongly linked with that magnificent portion of Transatlantic Britain, he imagined it would be acceptable to offer his countrypeople a plain unvarnished account of the most ancient province of British America, before he again took the field in Canada, and to this course his inclination bent him the more, as a military governor of high talent and renown had just occupied that seat from which naval dominion for several centuries had promulgated maritime laws and discipline; and His Excellency Sir John Harvey, a name so well-known in Canada, had afforded him

every means of obtaining correct statistical information respecting the oldest colony of England.*

In the present work it does not appear necessary to enter into these regularly scientific and statistical details which occupy so much of the two volumes respecting Terra Nova, nor to give long and tedious chapters on the progressive history of a country whose conquest, by Wolfe, has rendered its historical facts so much more prominent and better understood than that of Newfoundland.

More recent events, with a glance at the future, and a few sketches of the earlier history; a general account of the importance of those improvements now carrying on; examinations of the character of the population, with the interests which render politics so prominent a feature of Canadian society, will therefore constitute what is now to be placed before the reader, to whom the Author trusted it might prove of utility. It is an unbiassed statement from a writer of principles strictly Conservative, and at the same time professing no extreme opinions,—this, it is to be hoped, will be an additional inducement for perusal and reflection, whilst, it may possibly be hereafter of use in assisting the rising greatness of Transatlantic Britain. It helped to pass the tedious winters of Canada in arranging its pages: the Author's military exile, at least, was thus light-

* Before his work could go to press, he had the singular good fortune of finding his views as expressed in the book named "Newfoundland in 1842" corroborated, verified, and borne out in His Excellency's splendid speech upon the opening of the Legislature in January 1843,—a speech which will make Newfoundland a real and not a nominal colony of Great Britain.

ened of a very considerable share of monotony; but as a clever modern writer of historical fiction has observed, much deep reasoning upon politics must not be expected from one whose mind is necessarily and usually employed on professional pursuits that tend to improve it; which pursuits also tend to make one know or care little about local Colonial politics, the very worst and most complex of all, whilst the politics of an English gentleman abroad and those of a British officer, everywhere, are generally very different in their scope, embracing the whole British Empire, but resolvable into the limits of honour and respect for "The Queen, the Laws, and the Government," with a firm determination to support them, in the language of the Ordnance Military Motto, *Ubique*, or wherever the fame and glory of our Monarch and our Country require.

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CANADA

AS IT WAS, IS, AND MAY BE.

CHAPTER I.

CANADA AS IT WAS BEFORE THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1837.

Condition of the Province of Quebec until the division into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in 1791.

"*Res ardua vetustis novitatem dare,*" and never did author impose upon himself a greater task than that of endeavouring, in this age of railroads and steam-boats, to bring before the mind's eye events which have long slumbered in oblivion.

Man is now a locomotive animal, both as regards his faculties of mind and of motion, and unless in the schools, in the cabinet, or in amusing fictions, founded on fact, it is somewhat difficult to find real readers of mere history.

Canada and Canadian affairs have however succeeded in interesting the public of America and of Europe. The "go-a-head" English readers in the New World, because Canada would be a very desirable addition to

the already overgrown republic founded by the pilgrim fathers, and Europeans, because the preponderating French interest looks with a wistful eye to *La nation Canadienne* on the one hand with regret, and to Great Britain on the other with the utmost jealousy that she should have succeeded in laying the foundations of an empire which bids fair to perpetuate the glories of Anglo-Saxon transatlantic dominion; whilst the true Briton regards Canada as the apple of his eye, and sees with pleasure and with pride that his country, forewarned by the grand error committed at Boston, and so prophetically denounced by Chatham, has obtained a fairer and more fertile field for British legitimate ambition.

A history of Canada is not now attempted, neither is it intended to enter deeply into the various singular events which arose from time to time after the conquest by Wolfe until the present day; but, in order to elucidate the reasons which have led to the troubles of 1837, it is proposed only to analyze the matter; and as the author resided in Canada from the autumn of 1826 to the winter of 1839, and again from 1843 to 1847, he was perhaps able to see effects arising from causes which might have escaped the notice of those less conversant with Canadian affairs.

Canada, as is well-known, was French both by claim of discovery and by the more powerful right of possession.

Stimulated by the fame of Cabot, and ambitious to be the pilots of the Meta Incognita, that visionary channel which was to conduct Europeans to the golden Cathay, and to the rich spice islands of the East,

French adventurers eagerly sought the coveted honours which such a voyage would not fail to combine with overflowing wealth. France, England, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, sent forth those daring spirits whose hopes were uniformly crushed either by encountering the unbroken line of continental coast, or were dashed to pieces amidst the terrors of that true Cimmerian region where ice and fog contend for empire. Of all these heroic navigators, who would have rivalled Columbus under happier circumstances, none were successful, even in a limited sense, in attempting to reach China by the Northern Atlantic, except the French, who may fairly be allowed the merit of having traversed nearly one-half of the broadest portion of the New World by the discovery of the St. Lawrence and its connecting streams. Even in our own day, nearly four centuries after the Columbian era, the idea of reaching China by the north has not been abandoned, and it is very possible that, with the assistance of steam, or some more easily managed power, it will yet be achieved.

About the year 1837, a person of very strong mind, who edited the *Patriot*, a newspaper published at Toronto,—Mr. Thomas Dalton,—was looked upon as a mere enthusiast because one of his favourite ideas, frequently expressed, insisted that many years would not elapse before the teas and silks of China would be transported direct from the shores of the Pacific to Toronto, by canal, by river, by railroad, and by steam. Ten years scarcely passed since he first broached such a preposterous notion, as people of limited views universally esteemed it, and yet he nearly lived to see an uninterrupted steamboat communication from Europe

to Lake Superior,—a consummation which those who laughed at him then never even dreamt of.* Two thousand miles of water-road have been formed, and a future generation will see the white man toiling over the rocky barrier which alone remains between the great "Superior" and the vast Pacific, to open the China trade; and as the arms of England have overcome those of the Celestial Empire, no doubt can remain that England will soon colonize the shores south of Russian America, in order to retain the supremacy of British influence both in India and in China, and that the vast and splendid forests north of the Columbia river will ere long furnish the dockyards of the Pacific coast with the inexhaustible means of extending our commercial and our military marine.

And who were the pioneers, who cleared the way for the enterprize? Frenchmen!—the hardy, the enduring, and the chivalrous Gaul penetrated from the Atlantic in frail barks as far as those barks could then carry him, and where their services ceased, with ready courage adopted the still more fragile transport afforded by the canoe of the Indian, in which he traversed the greater part of the Northern Continent, and actually discovered all that we now know, and much more, which has since lapsed into oblivion.

But his genius was that of conquest, and not that

* McTaggart,—a lively Scotch civil-engineer, who wrote in 1829 an amusing work called "Three Years in Canada,"—was even more sanguine on this subject; and as he was a clerk of works on the Rideau Canal, naturally turned his attention to the practicability of opening a road by water with the lakes and rivers to Nootka Sound, or above the Columbia, so as to connect the Atlantic and Pacific shores.

of permanent colonization. Trammelled by feudal laws and observances, although he extended his national domain beyond his most ardent desire, yet he took no steps to ensure its duration, and thus left the Anglo-Saxon to consolidate the structure of which he had merely laid the extensive foundation. Even now, amidst all the enlightenment of the Christian nations, the descendants of the French in Canada shake off the dust of feudalism with painful difficulty, and instead of quietly yielding to a better order of things, prefer to dwell, from sire to son, the willing slaves of customs derived from the obsolete decrees of a despotic monarchy.

The Frenchman was, however, adapted by his nature to win his way, either by force or friendship, with the warlike and untutored Indian. Accommodating himself with ease to the nomadic life of the tribes, contrasting his lively and gay temperament with the solemn taciturnity and immovable phlegm of the savage, dazzling him by the splendour of his religious ceremonies, and coinciding in his recklessness of life, equally a warrior and equally a hunter, unmoved by the dangers of canoe navigation, for which he seemed as well fitted as the red man himself, the restless Gaul was everywhere feared or everywhere welcome.

The Briton, on the contrary, cold as the Indian, but not so wary, accustomed to comparative luxury and ease, despising the son of the forest as an inferior caste, accompanied by no outward and visible sign of the religion he would fain implant, unaccustomed to yield even to his equals in opinion, unprepared for alternate seasons of severe fasting or riotous plenty, and wholly

without that sanguine temperament which causes mirth and song amidst the most severe toil and privation, he was not the best of wanderers in the wilderness, nor was he received with open arms by the American aboriginal natives, until the sterling value of his character had become thoroughly apparent.

To this day, where in the interminable wilderness all trace of French influence is buried, the Indian reveres the recollections of his forefathers respecting that gallant race, and wherever the canoe now penetrates the solemn and silent shades of the vast west, the *Bois brulé*, or mixed offspring of the Indian with the French, may be heard awakening the slumber of ages with carols derived from the olden France, as he paddles swiftly and merrily along.

The Author has observed, that as far as his experience of travelling in the wilds of the west can go, and it was rather extensive, he should always, in future journeys, provide himself with the true French Canadian boatmen or *voyageurs*, or with the Indians. With either he should feel perfectly at ease; and having crossed the mountain waves of Huron in a Canada trading-canoe with both, should have less hesitation in trusting himself in the endless forest under their sole guidance and protection.*

But we must not forget the main object of this chapter, which is to point out the state of Canada prior to the memorable year 1791.

The honour of the discovery of Canada, instead of

* This chapter, as far as this point, was published in Canada in 1846, and is here reintroduced in order to take up the thread of connection, as a clue to the design of the work.

being attributed to Jacques Cartier, should be conferred upon Jean Denys, who, stimulated by Cabot's splendid voyage to Newfoundland, and the eastern coast of the United States, sailed from Harfleur in 1506 with his pilot, *Camart*, and having visited Newfoundland entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and furnished the first map of that region and the adjacent shores.

He was followed, in 1508, by Thomas Aubert, who sailed from Dieppe for Newfoundland, and passing through tha gulf discovered the River St. Lawrence and the Canadian country to a considerable extent, on his return taking with him some of the Indians, who were exhibited to the wondering gaze of the Parisians.

These discoveries, with the increasing importance of the cod-fishery of Newfoundland, caused an earnest desire to know more of the interior of the continent by all the maritime nations, and accordingly that island was partially visited and settled by the fishermen of France, of Portugal, and of England; and as the St. Lawrence bade fair to unravel some portion of the unknown passage to India, both England and France encouraged explorations on a larger scale; and Master Thorne, a merchant of Bristol in 1527, and Jacques Cartier in 1535, both undertook to penetrate the continent.

The voyage of the Englishmen for the golden Cathay was most disastrous, and ended without any good result; that of the Frenchman was crowned with success. He explored the mighty St. Lawrence (the father of North American rivers, perhaps the most

useful and splendid stream in the known world), for three hundred leagues, when his adventurous voyage was terminated by the current of St. Mary and the rapids of Montreal. He landed, built a fort, entered into alliance with the native Indians, and wintered in Canada.

Cartier named his discovery "La Nouvelle France," and his settlement Mont Royale, which was then an Indian village of great extent, and called Hochelaga; but he somewhat treacherously carried off the sachem, or principal chief, Donnaconna, and several of the leading warriors, and returned in triumph to France, where Donnaconna was made a Christian, and lived only four years afterwards.

The English claim the discovery of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton equally with the French, whose king, having determined to secure Canada, sent out François de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, in 1542, as his lieutenant-general and viceroy, to colonize the banks of the St. Lawrence, and as governor of all the discovered parts of North America, including Newfoundland. Cartier preceded this nobleman in 1540, to pave the way for him. Roberval built a fort about four leagues above the Isle of Orleans, or Isle of Bacchus,—which latter designation it received on account of its extreme fertility, and the abundance of wild vines in its woods. The river Jacques Cartier, so well known from Dr. Henry's description of its splendid salmon fishing, is now the sole memento of the enterprise of a navigator who gave France a new world.

The adventures of Roberval, who had as many high-sounding titles conferred upon him as Shakspere

makes Joan of Arc sneer at in viewing the body of Talbot,—

"The Turk that two-and-fifty kingdoms hath,"

wrote not so many; and, as in the case of Talbot, with him they perished, for in 1549, the viceroy, his brother, and a numerous train of settlers and followers, were lost at sea on their way to Canada. This misfortune so discouraged France, that for fifty years all aid to Canada was withheld, until Martin Frobisher, who made three voyages in 1576, 1577, and 1578, to discover the Meta Incognita, returned from each adventure with his vessels laden with supposed treasures; for such was the state of the sciences of chemistry and mineralogy in those days, that in one voyage alone two hundred tons of horse gold was brought to England for pure metal. This horse gold was probably iron pyrites, of which great quantities exist on the eastern shores of Newfoundland and Labrador.*

The Indians had never forgiven the treachery of Cartier in forcibly carrying off Donnaconna, and thus both Cartier and Roberval experienced great difficulties in their attempt at colonization; but in 1581, in consequence of the activity of the English, both in discovery and in the bank fishery, the French monarch renewed the communication with New France; and Queen Elizabeth, in 1583, sent Sir Humfrey Gilbert to colonize and possess Newfoundland.

* Particularly in Trinity Bay, in Newfoundland, at Catalina, from which place I have had some of the most splendid perfect cubic crystals of sulphuret of iron, above an inch in diameter and glittering as gold.

The trade in the St. Lawrence soon became valuable; and as the English had, by Raleigh's means, extended their fame on the continent of America, the French pushed their Canadian discoveries to the utmost available bounds.

Two remarkable circumstances have been recorded of this period, one the mention of the practice of smoking tobacco, as early as 1535, in the voyages of Cartier, who describes the modes in which the Canadian Indians used it, and the other the discovery of a profitable trade in ivory and oil from the walrus of the St. Lawrence, Newfoundland, and Labrador. At Ramea, a small island off the coast of Newfoundland, fifteen thousand of these huge sea-horses were killed in one year by a small fishing vessel, the tusks fetching even a higher price than those of the elephant.

This denizen of the rocky isles and of the adjacent ocean has now entirely disappeared, having been literally exterminated both in Newfoundland and in the St. Lawrence.

The Marquis De la Roche, in 1593, was appointed Governor-General of Canada by Henry IV., and ordered to conquer and colonize, but he did very little towards either, and was succeeded by Monsieur Chauvin in 1600, who first visited Tadousac, at the mouth of the Great Saguenay,* which is still neglected, although opening into a magnificent country. In 1601 he proceeded as far as Trois Rivières, now a neat little town on the St. Lawrence, which I have

* The enterprising and intelligent merchant, William Price, Esq., of Quebec, has here large wood-cutting establishments.—EDITOR.

already noticed, and which promises hereafter to be of some importance.

In 1603 Pierre du Gast, one of the household of Henry IV., received the patent of Lieutenant-General of all territories in America lying between the fortieth and fiftieth degrees of north latitude; and Champlain, a name much better known, explored the Saguenay country in the same year.

We have now arrived at an important era. Samuel Champlain de Brouage was sent out from France, in 1608, with powers to make, at all risks, a permanent colony in Canada; and such a task could not have been confided to better hands. He first carefully examined the coasts of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, as it was afterwards named, then the shores of the St. Lawrence, until he pitched upon the site of his settlement at Cape Diamond.

We shall quote the words of this illustrious navigator: "Trouvant un lieu le plus estroit de la rivière que les habitans du pays appellent Quebec, j'y bastir et edifier une habitation, et defricher des terres, et faire quelques jardinages."

Hence arose that city which is now one of the handsomest to look at from the water probably in the world, and which is also the principal fortress in all America.

Long and learned have been the disquisitions upon the origin of the words Quebec and Canada, and at last it has been strongly asserted that Quebec is derived from a place in Normandy, as the seal of the Earl of Suffolk, given in "Edmonstone's Heraldry," has that word upon it; and many places on the

coast of that part of France have the termination *bec*, beak, bill, or cape, as *nez* is nose, ness, or promontory. Suffolk was one of Henry the Fifth's great commanders, in his Gallic wars, and probably had a fief of that name conferred upon him.*

But however that may be, no such place of any note whatever now exists in France, and Champlain having declared that he named his settlement after an Indian village appears conclusive, although the termination of words in a harsh consonant, like *c* or *k*, is not very common in any Indian dialect; the Huron language has, however, many beginning with *k*, pronounced as in the Greek.

Canada, I think, is satisfactorily derived from a very universal Indian word, signifying a town, village, or collection of wigwams. Thus, Canadaigua, in the Genesee country, was formerly a large Indian settlement, and strangers coming so unexpectedly upon the red men, as the first adventurers did, would naturally have the large villages pointed out to them.

My own name, as given me at a council of the Mohawks, during the disturbances of 1837, is Anadaesc, "he who summons the town," and many other corroborative cases might be cited which have been ably handled by the late much lamented Andrew Stuart, Esq., of Quebec, in the "Transactions of the Natural History Society," in that city.

The Huron name of the promontory of Quebec is *Tiant-ontarili*, "the place of the narrowing, or the

* Bec was a common Norman terminal. Near Aylesbury, at Whitchurch in Buckinghamshire, may be seen the site of an immense castle built at the conquest by the Lord of Bolbec, a Norman follower of William.

straits," most applicable to the condition of the St. Lawrence just beyond Cape Diamond; and *Stadaconi* was the original designation of the confluence of the St. Charles with the St. Lawrence on the lower ground of Quebec. In the Micmac tongue, now confined to the Atlantic regions of the St. Lawrence, the word Quebec is said to signify the shutting in of the river, perfectly descriptive of the great harbour between Cape Diamond, Point Levi, and the Isle of Orleans. The Micmac language abounds in terminal consonants, as *Paspèbiac,* "the broken bar or beach;" *Cascapediac,* "the strong current;" *Matapediac,* "the volume of waters descending from a great marsh," &c. These are all places in the Gulf of Gaspé, or Bay of Chaleurs; and Mr. Stuart says that the terminating syllable of Quebec is not at all at variance with the phonetic analogies of that language, whilst it is more than probable that this Atlantic tribe knew, or even occupied, the country near the southern coast of Quebec Basin.

Quebec was at first a colony of the Huguenots or Protestants; who were not, however, long allowed to remain in quiet possession either of their trade, or of their religion, for they fell under the ban of the tyrant Richelieu,—who, more king than his royal master, in 1627, instituted an association called, "The Company of the Hundred;" to which most extensive commercial powers were given, and whose patron was the Cardinal himself.

This scheme, planned like all those the powerful and sagacious mind of the French Wolsey instituted, was so constructed as to have raised Canada to sudden eminence; but the English monarch, Charles I.,

foreseeing the danger to which the colonies of England would thereby be exposed, afterwards commenced that series of American warfare against France which was to be consummated by his more remote successor George III.

David Kertk, a Dutch adventurer, accordingly received a sort of roving commission to annoy, spoil and conquer the French transatlantic plantations. Kertk having been engaged against Canada since 1628, and, in 1629, Champlain, who commanded at Quebec, was forced, from the want of resources, to capitulate to him and his brother Louis; who both gave such favourable terms to the French settlers, that they generally chose to remain in the country as subjects of the British crown.*

From want of an accurate knowledge of the great importance to England of the conquest of all the North American settlements, Charles, by the treaty of St. Germain, in 1632, restored Acadia, Cape Breton, and Canada to Louis XIII.†

Hence arose the bitter animosities which existed, for a hundred and thirty years afterwards, between the British colonists of North America, and the settlers in the French domain. Hence arose the immense empire which France founded, from the Gulf of St.

* A curious description of the taking of Quebec by Kertk, or as he is usually called Kirk, is given by Father Hennepin in a work, now rather scarce, published in 1699, and dedicated to William III., in which is a view of that city when it surrendered on the 20th of July, 1629.

† Though this is denied by the representatives of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, who had obtained a grant of the ancient L'Acadie.—EDITOR.

Lawrence to the mouths of the Mississippi. Hence arose the necessity of long, bloody, and expensive wars to England. Hence the conquest of Canada and the prostration of French power in North America,—from which resulted the total loss of British dominion over thirteen of her largest, healthiest, and most important colonies; and we shall soon have to depict some other and nearer results of this fatal political error.

The French, from the treaty of St. Germain, remained in peaceable occupation of New France, and wholly undisturbed, excepting by the Indians. Montreal was founded in 1625, religious edifices and associations sprang up, discoveries were constantly making, and Canada was rapidly advancing in importance; and this prosperity was unclouded, save by conflicts with the terrible Iroquois, who spared neither the French nor their red allies, and nearly exterminated the Hurons in 1649, whilst in 1654 they merely left the name of Lake Erie as a memento of one of the most numerous of the lacustrian (from living on the lakes) tribes. These fell and indomitable warriors spread the terror of their prowess from Superior to Acadia, the western nations crouched at the sounds on their war-path, and the timid Micmacs of the Atlantic hid themselves in caves from their unsparing fury. Where are now the valiant, the remorseless tyrants of the American forests?—Where are they? The grave that entombed the Huron and the Erie has closed over the Iroquois, and even Indian history is silent and records not the period at which the greatest nation of the Canadian wilderness ceased entirely to be. The Iroquois, his wars, his glory, his power, and his pride, are as un-

remembered things of long bygone ages, although not more than three-quarters of a century have elapsed since that very name caused in the hearts of the colonist of France and his Indian allies the palsy of fear.

Two remarkable events are recorded in North American history in 1660 and in 1664. In the first-named year France sent a bishop to Canada, François de Laval, and supplanted the reign of the Jesuits there by the introduction of other monastic institutions. In the latter year a more humble instrument for the propagation of the Christian faith in New England, the Rev. John Elliott, published an Indian translation of the Bible, in the Mohawk language.

In 1662, the Company of the Hundred Associates, unable to carry out the objects of their institution, surrendered their patent to the King; who transferred their powers and claims to the West India Company, founded by Colbert.

Wars with the Indians occupy much of Canadian history until 1667; when a peace was patched up which lasted longer than usual, and enabled an enterprizing priest, Father Perrot, to penetrate twelve hundred miles westward, from Quebec by the St. Lawrence and the Lakes; and in 1671, Lake Superior witnessed a grand council between the French and the Western tribes,—for so far had French power then extended.

To check the Indians, however, next year the Governor of Canada began to lay out a fort on Lake Ontario, which was resumed in 1673 by Count Frontenac, who erected a small fortress; from which Kingston, the late capital of Canada, derives its origin, and which

is also the county town of a district still bearing that French nobleman's name.

A small work for the fur-trade was also erected, ten years afterwards, at Michilimackinac, near the extremity of Lake Huron, and the French pushed their discoveries to within a short distance of the Gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi. This discovery was made by Marquette, a priest, and Joliet, a citizen of Quebec; and was completed by Father Hennepin and by La Salle in 1680 and 1682,—the former ascending the great river as far as the Falls of St. Anthony, and the latter descending it to the sea, where he lost his life afterwards in a mutiny. This enterprizing man built a vessel of ten tons burthen on Lake Ontario, and one of sixty on Lake Erie, in 1678 and 1679,—the precursors of the vast navy which now rides on those inland seas. He gave his monarch's name to the immense tract of country which he had seen, and it remains Louisiana to this day, and is partly inhabited by Frenchmen; but has passed under the control of those very people who were indebted to Frenchmen for being themselves enabled successfully to cast off the dominion of their fatherland.

The French were engaged in 1684 with the Five Nations of Indians, and under De la Barre concluded a treaty of peace with the Oneidas, the Onondagos, Cayugas, Mohawks, and Senecas; who have ever since remained denizens of Canada and the adjacent territory. The French population after this useful treaty had much increased, and the spirit of conquest having animated their bosoms, it was determined by a bold series of offensive measures to annihilate the English

dominion on the North American continent, and to extirpate the great and warlike tribe of the Senecas, who were friends to the latter.

The Governor of New France, M. Denonville, accordingly set out from Frontenac (or rather Cataraqui, as Kingston was then called), at Midsummer, and encountering the Senecas, routed them completely; and to ensure the rule of France, he erected a fort at the confluence of the river Niagara with Lake Ontario.

The Five Nations, however, were not so easily tamed; they took the field in 1689, and in July of that year they attacked Montreal, and committed horrid barbarities.

The English now turned the tide of war into Canada, and a large force from the Plantations, under the celebrated Sir Wm. Phipps (the ancestor of the Mulgrave family), attacked Quebec and Montreal; but owing to want of the timely arrival of their fleet, and unforeseen difficulties in the wilderness, which intervened between the English and French colonies, both operations were unsuccessful, as was also an invasion of the Mohawk country by Count Frontenac afterwards.

Canada and New York were both becoming of vast importance, the former having reached a population exceeding 130,000, including the aborigines; but a series of years passed in constant wars between the settlers and the more warlike of the tribes; the former assisted by the Indians resident near them, and the latter by English influence. It would occupy too much space to detail these wars, which were ably managed by Frontenac and Vaudreuil, until the death of the former, who was one of the best and most

energetic of the long list of governors of Canada who preceded or succeeded him during the French possession. He died in 1698, and now not a vestige of the fort he erected at Kingston remains. The name of that place was first Cataraqui, next Frontenac, and it was recently the capital of Canada, always a place of importance, and promising to be the City of the Lakes. The strong mind of Frontenac saw its advantageous position, and that it was really the key of the St. Lawrence; and the completion of the Rideau Canal, the canals of the St. Lawrence and of the Welland, have consummated his views.

The English court still with steady purpose looked forward to the necessity of conquering Canada, in order to preserve the colonies it had founded in North America; but it was not until 1756, that aware of the increasing power of France, and that she was silently engaged in drawing a cordon of forts from the Mexican Gulf, through Louisiana to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and that an awful massacre of English officers and soldiers had taken place at Fort William Henry, silently sanctioned by a French general, that England really took any effectual measures, although both the Colonists and the Indians had vainly endeavoured to stir the lion, until Oswego, an important post, fell again into the hands of the French, and then indeed the lion was roused from his apathetic slumber.

Chatham,—the great Chatham,—who lived to see a success and a reverse unexampled in the history of colonies, was now at the helm. Boscawen and Abercrombie assumed the commands of an immense fleet and an army of fifty thousand men; Cape Breton,

Louisbourg, the Island of St. John's, Fort Frontenac, Fort du Quesne, and the territories dependent, fell under the British arms, conducted by Amherst, Bradstreet, and Forbes; and this was crowned in 1759 by the surrender of Quebec, and the consequent fall of the sceptre of France in Canada, at the feet of the immortal Wolfe, who with his rival in glory, Montcalm,* fell contending for an empire, which is destined to become the most mighty of any for which the military prowess of two of the greatest nations of the earth ever contended.

The result of this victory was the treaty of Fontainebleau, by which Great Britain became possessed of Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and all the other islands and territories in the St. Lawrence. The Canadian French were allowed the undisturbed possession of their religion and property, and in October of the same year the King of Great Britain erected the government of Quebec into a province. De Levi, who succeeded Montcalm, having surrendered Montreal, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and all the remaining places within his government, on the 8th of September, 1760.

The Province of Quebec then contained the very undefined territory, bounded by the river St. John, on the Labrador shore, and thence by a line through Lake St. John to the south-end of Lake Nipissing, then crossing the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain, in forty-five degrees north latitude, passed along the

* "Honneur à Montcalm,
La destin, en lui derobant la victoire,
L'a recompensé par une mort glorieuse."
—*Inscription on an Obelisk at Quebec, erected to Wolfe and Montcalm by Lord Dalhousie.*

highlands, dividing the waters emptying themselves into the St. Lawrence, from those falling into the sea, and also the north coast of the Bay of Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosier, and thence, crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, by the west-end of the island of Anticosti, terminating at the river St. John. Thus ended the splendid vision of French dominion in America, after an interval of two centuries and a quarter from the first attempt at settlement, by Jacques Cartier, in 1535.

The policy of France, in her conduct towards her transatlantic colonies, has been so admirably commented upon by Burke, in his celebrated volumes on the European Settlements in America, that it is needless to repeat it.

The actual date of French colonization reaches only to the year 1608; and we have seen by the foregoing sketch that it was a mere experiment, partly of a commercial and partly of a military nature, until 1663. As long as it was commercial only, as is uniformly the case with every mercantile attempt to exclude all other than mercantile dominion, it signally failed. When purely military and based upon the destruction of the warlike savages, who were the real owners of the soil, it succeeded better; but the atrocities and horrors committed by the belligerent parties stain the page of history, and rendered every step the French took to extend their knowledge of the country only an additional print on the blood-marked soil.

When the French monarchy assumed its proper position in New France by sending a viceroy in 1663,

the system by which its West India Colonies generally were governed came into operation, and so rigid was the supervision over the governors, over the commercial transactions and the settlers, that Canada began from that moment to rear its head; and had not the fatal measure now pursuing by the United States of exterminating the Indian tribes been one of the most prominent of the features of its policy, France would have probably retained its dominion either much longer, or altogether. Such unmitigated cruelty as that of driving whole races to despair, roused up a flame which never afterwards slumbered and drew a counter cordon parallel to that line by which the French attempted to hem in the British provinces. The same thing happens in our day; the enterprising and commercial American conceives that by extending the already overgrown Republic to the shores of the Pacific, he will unite himself to the Russian outposts, and then retracing eastward, but more to the north, his march, that he will shut in Canada, as the French attempted to do Florida, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York. But fortunately for Canada, the same counter cordon, upon nearly the same ground of Indian territory, has prevented, and will prevent, this scheme of aggrandizement. The mass of the people in the United States, with the pardonable vanity of all new countries, laugh the idea to scorn, that the red men can stand before them. Those who have seen much of the present race of Western Indians, however, know well that, in their own figurative language, "the hatchet is only buried, to preserve it," and that they burn to avenge the wrongs of the nations from Florida

to Superior. They have been forced back westward, but, like the sea-wave in its wrath, the recoil will be greater than any obstacle to its progress which has hitherto existed, and the world may be assured that the Indians are still numerous enough to cause themselves to be feared, if they cannot enforce respect.

The wars of the French with the Iroquois, who were extirpated, afford a fine example of the truth of the above assertions; the monster lost one of its heads, but twenty new ones sprouted up in its place, and the English, taking advantage of the accession, achieved at once a conquest which otherwise must at least have occupied many years.

But we must resume the thread of our historical sketch. No sooner was Quebec and Montreal in possession of England, than commerce began to rear its head; and it is recorded that, in the first year, 1763, the exports from Britain amounted to no less a sum than £8,624. But new troubles retarded the progress of this fine colony, and although they dimmed the lustre of that crown of victory which graced the dying brow of Wolfe, it was only for a moment, and the conduct of the French colonists soon restored it to more than its original lustre.

The passing of the Stamp Act had set the British plantations in a blaze; but the Canadians, well satisfied with their new government, secure in the exercise of their private and religious rights, repudiated with the brave Novascotians, the insidious designs of the disaffected in the neighbouring provinces, who, in 1774, after the well-known outbreak at Boston, issued a declaration, in Congress, of their intentions to rule

themselves, and sent a deputation to Canada to incorporate that colony with the proposed Republic. It is said, and has not been contradicted, that ministers of the peaceful gospel were employed in this insidious attempt,—an attempt never lost sight of for sixty-eight years afterwards, and which now only slumbers. But the year in which these missionaries appeared was destined to witness their discomfiture and that of their employers, who had invaded this peaceable and loyal province with a large force under Montgomery and Arnold. Montgomery fell, whilst attacking Quebec, in the month of November, 1775; and in the summer of 1776, Arnold was forced to raise the siege and evacuate Canada, to display himself afterwards in different colours.

The western part of Canada began now to assume importance: abandoned after the conquest as an Indian hunting-ground, or occupied at its western extremity, on Lake Erie, by a few of the ancient French colonists, its capability of supporting a numerous population along the shores of the Great River and the lakes, became evident. Those excellent men who, preferring to sacrifice life and fortune rather than forego the enviable distinction of being British subjects, saw that this vast field afforded a sure and certain mode of safety and of honourable retreat, and accordingly, in 1783, ten thousand settlers were enumerated in that portion of Canada, who, under the proud title of United Empire Loyalists, had turned their backs for ever upon the new-fangled republicanism and treason of the country of their birth.

The obstacles, privations, and miseries these brave people had to encounter, may readily be imagined in a country where the primæval forest covered the earth, and where the only path was the river, or the lake. They ultimately were however blessed with success; and to this day the magical letters U. E. placed after the name of an applicant for land, ensure its grant.

In 1786, Canada was formed into one portion of a vice-royalty, and a Governor-general, Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester), assumed its direction, including under his rule, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, &c. The constitution under which Canada was originally governed had been introduced by the conquest in 1759, whereby the laws of England, civil and criminal, had been declared in operation. The French settlers had received their new boon of British justice, as far only as regarded the criminal code, with unmixed joy, as it freed them from the despotic system they had long suffered under; but they were not so well satisfied with the change from the antiquated *Coutume de Paris*, in the adoption of the English civil jurisprudence, and to please them, in 1775, an Act had passed restoring the ancient *regime*.

Sir Guy Carleton found his province of Quebec in a flourishing state, and the population exceeding 115,000; and as he was really a viceroy, although his hands were somewhat tied by the anomalous state of the laws, and the very great oversight which had been committed of suffering them to be administered on principles, wholly repugnant to British freedom; yet he had an easy task compared with that of his recent successors—for

it would have been a grievous shame had not Great Britain yielded her acknowledged claim of exercising her own laws over her patient, and loyal French Colonists.

British historians and politicians unite in deploring the error, as it is termed, of not securing British influence by introducing the language of the conqueror with his customs and his policy; but it seems to be forgotten, that when the English gave way to the desires of their Canadian brethren in 1775, these Canadians had just defeated that most powerful combination against British interests and power in the New World, which led to the absolute loss of thirteen of the finest of our transatlantic provinces.

The error was assuredly one on the side of practical and positive justice, albeit that it entailed consequences which even the mind of Pitt failed to foresee. The Americans, with less magnanimity and more foresight, treated the conquered French in Louisiana differently, and they have not gained much by the ease with which a whole colony was turned over to a regeneration of manners and measures; which, savouring very much of despotism in the abstract, has sunk deeply into the minds of the descendants of the Louisianians, and with the bigoted persecution in latter times of the Catholic Irish, will not fail to cause deep and lasting trouble when the union of Republicanism with the aristocracy of wealth shall bring forth an offspring yet in embryo.

Great Britain could afford to be indulgent to a people, who having been reckoned as her natural enemies from the times of our Edwards and our

Henries, had, nevertheless, supported her against the presumption and the unnatural hostility of her offspring. In her honour they confided,—and from that hour until Republicanism began to rear its head on their own soil, they evinced their gratitude by zealously fighting her battles, and crushing every attempt of the people of the United States to enslave them.

It is singular enough that, as was just observed, peripatetic professors of religion were first selected to sow the seeds of Republicanism in Canada, and that that plan has been steadily pursued for nearly seventy years. These travelling-preachers, belonging to no particular or rather to no uniform class of Christians, still prowl like wolves ravening amidst the forests of that country, selecting remote and unobserved stations to instil their venom, and introducing Republican tracts, and elementary books of instruction amongst the most ignorant of the population in Western Canada, and in the Eastern townships.

Ministers of religion, as they are falsely styled; ministers of the moral law, ministers of the physical law, and practitioners of medicine, were the prominent or the hidden leaders of the revolt in 1837. Bidwell, and Dr. Rolph,—the first an American refugee lawyer, the other a British subject, and a medical practitioner, both highly tinged with extra-evangelism,—with Dr. Duncombe, were the leaders in Upper Canada. The advocate, Papineau, with the two Drs. Nelson, and Dr. Kimber of Chambly, Dr. Chenier and Dr. Coté, were the revolutionary leaders in Lower Canada. Papineau was a lawyer of some reputation and practice; the others, such as Theller, were of less influence, but not less

dangerous.* We shall presently see from what causes these men were actuated, and the objects they aimed at; and must now turn to the concluding section of this chapter,—the important event of the actual grant of a constitution to Canada.

Mr. Pitt, in a luminous speech upon this occasion, was so impressed with the impossibility of reconciling the jarring interests, which had already developed themselves between the British settlers in the West and the French Canadians in the East, that he stated he knew not how to reconcile or destroy their unhappy influence, but by separating the people of such different origin, and of such different language and feeling.

Accordingly, he divided the province of Quebec into two grand divisions by the Ottawa River, calling that to the West, Upper or English Canada; that to the East, Lower or French Canada,—and to each portion granted a separate constitution, adapted to their situation and prospects.

Upper Canada received the British laws and customs upon the same broad terms as they are recognized by Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights; that is to say, she was constituted an integral portion of the Empire, and a province having the control of its own affairs under a Governor and Council, and Houses of Legislature, similar in every respect to those of the Lords and Commons in Great Britain, as far as the circumstances of the country would admit.

* Theller was an apothecary; and, as a clever writer in the *New York Albion* says, "No wonder the cause of Canadian patriotism was hopeless, '*Tot medici, tantum periculum.*'"

The same boon was granted to Lower Canada, but the administration of the laws, the proceedings of the Houses, and the feudal tenure of the lands in possession was still permitted to remain; excepting only the Criminal Law, subject to ancient French customs, and to the vernacular language of the Province which had been carefully guarded inviolable by its denizens refusing to learn that of the conquerors. Lands held from the Crown, and granted after the Charter was in force, were however to be held in free and common soccage; and thus the way was paved for introducing a British race behind the belt of coast, which is alone settled by the French along the shores of the St. Lawrence.

The anomalies which this mixture of French and British law introduced may well be imagined, and seigneurs soon sprang up with the titles of Baron de ———— (of seignorial land), who were English, Scotch, or Irish, and who inherited their lordships by marriage or by purchase. It was a curious thing for a reflective mind to see a British subject, holding no recognised British rank, signing himself *De* (so and so), and receiving the homage of the feudal age in his "*quints, lods et ventes;*" in the obligation of his serf to grind his corn at the seigneur's mill, and other vexatious and despotic customs of the Norman age.

Papineau and Nelson aimed a great blow at this remnant of Gothic rule, but in so doing they created powerful enemies; and as the Roman Catholic priesthood were also included in their sweeping alterations, they raised a nest of hornets about

their ears which would have stung them, had they succeeded, more sorely than they were stung at St. Eustache, and prevented such union amongst the Canadians as would have embarrassed and retarded the supremacy of British power, whilst the ancient Catholic enmity to the Americans, who are always styled *"les sacrés Bostonais"* by the Canadian peasantry, prevented effectually the wished-for consummation by the leaders of the revolt, of a defensive union with the United States.*

* See Nelson's Proclamation, 4th chap. vol. II.

CHAPTER II.

Condition of the two Provinces, from 1791 to the year 1812.

THE years 1791 and 1792 are remarkable in the history of the civilized world. The Reign of Terror in France was commencing, England was in a state of great agitation. The trial of Warren Hastings occupied public attention, and France was declared a Republic, Constantinople was devastated by an unparalleled conflagration, Egypt lost nearly a million of her people by the plague. The king of Sweden was assassinated, and the guillotine was ready to shed the blood of a whole royal family, and an hecatomb of the nobility was preparing.

It was in this season of convulsion and of dismay that Great Britain proposed to attach more firmly to her interests the loyal population of Canada, which, for ten years after the recognition of American independence, had remained firm in its devotion to the British Crown.

The splendid talents of Pitt, of Burke, and of Fox, assisted in developing the scheme of providing a colonial administrative power for these rising provinces.

Burke, who, gifted with a mind which could grasp

probabilities with keener perception than appears to have been granted to Pitt, foresaw the consequences, the fatal and humiliating lessons mankind was about to receive from the irreligious and wild madness of the French. He, with his usual power, contended that the people, the loyal people of Canada, should receive, at such an epoch, such a constitution as would leave them "nothing to envy" in comparing their position as provinces of Britain with that of their neighbours, the American Republicans.

The House of Commons yielded to the suggestions of the youthful minister, and the model of the English constitution was, as we have already observed, chosen to work upon; but how to constitute a Chamber of Peers was the grand difficulty. Fox ridiculed the attempt to create noblemen out of the materials afforded by such new colonies, and wished to make the Upper Houses elective; but Mr. Pitt silenced the opposition and carried his point, that the nomination of all councillors should be with the Crown, and that the fostering of an order of nobility might be a matter of future consideration.

Mr. Pitt was, in fact, very nearly on the point of creating a most anomalous class of the noblesse from the raw material of the emigrants, whose loyalty had driven them from the United States. He had no experience (as, how could he have?) of the difficulties which such a course would soon have involved. The natural tenacity with which men, suddenly elevated to an unexpected distinction above their neighbours, cling to precedence and rank, have been sufficiently embarrassing to the Government in all colonies since a

constitution was granted to Canada, without increasing the difficulty by making those ranks hereditary. The grandeur of ancient recollections, the spirit-stirring associations which are connected with the aristocracy of Britain, render us proud of their ancestral names; but in the New World, peopled only within three hundred years, there are neither the reminiscences of chivalry, nor of deep and profound learning to elevate the noble above his fellows; nor is there an adequate supply of the means to sustain the almost regal splendour with which the British peerage encircle their coronets.

The absurdity of a Duke of Marmalade and a Marquess of Lemonade in Hayti, can be laughed at equally by the aristocrat or by the republican, setting aside the prejudice of colour; and would not Western Canada furnish a theme for ridicule if some of its worthy councillors were to be suddenly raised to the peerage with the high-sounding titles of Duke of Niagara, Marquess of Ontario, Viscount Erie, or Baron Superior?*

In Lower Canada there are indeed the undoubted descendants of illustrious families, and the seignories afforded very good designations for a noblesse so time-honoured, but in general their means were limited to their ancestral halls, not so good as the mansions of the departed English squirearchy, whilst a sort of universal dislike exists amongst all classes of the

* Yet if a British colonist possesses sufficient means to support a title, and his services demand an honorary distinction, it would be highly politic and proper (as marking monarchical institutions also) to confer a title on him.—EDITOR.

population to the assumption, by British-born subjects, of these vestiges of the old feudal French dominion, and the possessors can therefore seldom obtain, in mixed society, the honours they very rarely assume.

A very great and natural desire no doubt existed amongst some of the least reflecting of that body who held the colonial title of honourable for the term of their natural lives, to perpetuate that distinction in their families. The herald too had, in some few instances, his office forestalled; and persons happening to rejoice in the possession of ancient names, which find their way into the peerage, having, as it was said, assumed arms and mottos accordingly.*

The question of a colonial peerage was therefore set at rest; but since the establishment of the baronets of Nova Scotia by James I., in 1623, serious intentions have been exhibited of instituting some such inferior class of nobility to reward public servants in the Colonies; and even now the baronets are urging an old claim to lands in America. The Nova Scotia baronets wear an ancient decoration, introduced by Sir William Alexander, Premier Baronet of Nova Scotia, and afterwards Earl of Stirling.

The Quebec Act, passed in consequence of the

* Mr. Pitt had very good materials, in 1791, from which to create a hereditary branch. The old *noblesse*, principally seigneurs, were then to be found in Canada; they had, for the most part, been educated at the French Court, and were men of refinement and observation. Had such a House been in existence, it would have given the French Canadians a strong inducement to remain attached to Britain, and it would have probably sympathized better with the Lower House than the heterogeneously composed Legislative Councils that have been selected by the Crown from among Storekeepers, Lawyers, &c.—EDITOR.

alarming state of British interests on the continent of America, had secured to the French Canadians, for the first time, something approaching to the prevention of the despotic sway which the governors and intendants had burthened the people with, and a check upon the subsequent all-but unlimited powers of the primal Governors-general of the English Colony,—who however had usually exercised this immense trust not only to the satisfaction of the mother country, but in strict accordance with the provisions of the conquest and capitulation. Nothing in fact could, under all the circumstances, have been more honourable and more liberal; for not only was private property untouched, but the actual right of being enrolled as freemen of the great British empire was so fully conceded that the French Canadians were admissible to offices of power and trust, and were endued with all the known legal and moral rights of the natural-born British subject. The Roman Catholic religion was left as free as that of the mother country, and the estates which belonged to that church remained almost exclusively in its possession.

The celebrated Quebec Act went further, it restored the ordinances of the French kings respecting the administration of civil law, and delegated to the Crown the appointment of Twenty-three Councillors to assist the Viceroy; nor did the native-born race evince any repugnance to the rule of a Governor and Council until the British had beeome permanent settlers, and had instituted petitions and memorials to be brought entirely under the pale of the British constitution.

Mr. Pitt granted, in 1791, the prayers of the

Colonists, after an interval of six years which had been spent in considering their claims; and the boundaries of two distinct provinces were now settled and defined, the Upper reaching from the head of Lake Superior to the Ottawa River, and the Lower from that river to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, including Newfoundland, whilst the Viceroy, or Governor-general exercised jurisdiction over all the British Colonies on the continent of North America, excepting Hudson's Bay and the North-western territories.

It would not be in accordance with the intention of the present volumes to enter into a list of the governors and lieutenant-governors, and to examine their individual policy and acts, but that of Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, must not be passed over slightly, as under his charge was the important experiment conducted of seating the British constitution firmly amidst the forest-covered regions of the New World, and showing its advantages and blessings as contrasted with those emanating from a democratic institution, which had largely imbibed notions of liberty and equality from those Frenchmen whom it had taught to despise monarchical rule, and this double lesson in its reaction depriving both worlds of that repose and peace which could restore the disordered state of Christendom.

France paid dearly for the assistance which she so readily lent to the rebellious daughter of England. Her throne, her religion, her commerce, and her national character were swept away in torrents of her best blood; and it needed, amidst all the pomp and glare of a warlike despotism, years of combat and of

suffering to restore even the semblance of security and tranquillity to her distracted bosom, whilst it gave the hordes of Russia their first opportunity to try their strength in crushing freedom in its cradle.

The Anglo-American gained an empire; and founding his newly-acquired rank amongst the nations of the earth upon a close imitation of those glorious doctrines which had rendered his parent invulnerable, would have paved the way to the subjugation of the whole American continent to his dominion, had he not with mercantile tenacity considered the tobacco and the rice of the South of more importance than a perfect abstract of Magna Charta.

The American endeavoured to combine the opposing elements of liberty and equality with a distinction of colour and the brand of human degradation; and he committed the still more fatal error,—a legacy from the Puritans,—of considering religious freedom as consisting of dogmatism and the doctrines of uneducated reformers. In fact, in the ardour of reaction, he went many irretrievable steps beyond the utmost bounds of a constituted democracy, and thus left abysms in his almost Utopian constitution which cannot now be filled up. He spread, however, the banner of Liberty over a fair portion of the earth; and thus led to the dismemberment of an empire which Charles V. had founded, and which, but for its exclusiveness and bigotry, would have controlled the world, and he assisted in wholly paralyzing the power of France, by quietly possessing himself of all that was valuable to his ally on the North American continent.

It was in the memorable year that gave the great

check to the extension of American power, that Simcoe was directed to proceed to Upper Canada; and he assumed the reins of government on the 8th of July, 1792,—an epoch which should ever be held in remembrance by the Western Canadians. The first place at which he fixed his official residence was Niagara, then, and even now, occasionally called Newark; and there, in a house hastily put together, he lived for several years.

The Governor-general was then Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester); but, as has been since customary, he did not interfere with the administration of the new province, excepting upon pressing occasions, or when military affairs rendered it necessary, the Lieutenant-governors being authorized in the British American Colonies to correspond with the Secretary of State without the intervention of their superiors, upon all civil state affairs, and in general receive instructions by despatches direct from the Home authorities.

The Canadas at this time contained about 140,000 settlers; the Upper division having reached in 1795 to about 30,000, whilst its boundaries were actually unlimited to the westward. It was here, therefore, that the great scheme of British colonization was to be opened and fostered; and Simcoe, in commencing it, succeeded even beyond his expectation. He commenced upon a matured plan to settle the country enclosed between Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, and to connect the two provinces by a belt of farms and villages along the banks of the St. Lawrence.

To form a central city or metropolis, he first selected a site, which was then unbroken forest, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, where a peninsula of sand, in a

semilunar form, shuts out the troubled waters of the vast lake from a beautiful bay of two miles in length by one in its greatest breadth, entered only by a narrow channel, but which terminated in an immense swamp. Here ague and fever, it was anticipated, reigned supreme. The choice of this site was probably caused by the singular felicity with which the French had uniformly chosen their principal stations, and by the fact of its being removed by the whole breadth of Lake Ontario, at that part upwards of thirty-six miles wide, from the shores of the American Union. It also commanded a great portage of about the same length, by which Lake Simcoe communicated with Penetanguesheene and the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, whilst the intervening country between these lakes possessed a fertile and virgin soil.

Governor Simcoe's grand plan was to secure the Colonists from invasion, and he formed a scheme of settlement which placed the emigrants from the United States in the heart of the territory embraced by Erie, Huron, and Ontario; and to secure their fidelity, or rather to neutralize their future attempts to join the Union, he proposed to encircle them by a belt of military settlers along the margin of all these lakes.

When he commenced this project, Upper Canada was only partially opened from the banks of the junction of the Ottowa and St. Lawrence, to Kingston and the Bay of Quinte, the French occupied partially the shores of the Detroit; there were a few farms along the Niagara River, and a village or two along the shore of Lake Ontario from Niagara towards Burlington Bay.

Lord Dorchester, who appears to have possessed

great foresight, opposed this grand plan, and urged the propriety of adopting Kingston as the capital of Upper Canada; for which its greater proximity to Montreal, its natural advantages, and its splendid roadstead and bay, appeared much more adapted.

Simcoe then turned his attention from the old French post of Toronto; where that enterprising people had constructed a large earth-work to control the Indians, and had opened a French forest road directly north, to communicate with Lake Huron, vestiges of which still remain. He sought a central situation between the three great lakes, and at length fixed upon London, on the River Thames,—which river he proposed to render navigable to Chatham, at which place his grand naval depôt of gun-boats and the flotilla was to be made, and at London the depôt of warlike stores, secured by its distance from the frontier, was to be erected.

Had he continued to carry out these views, and had London been constituted the capital of Upper Canada, it cannot be doubted that Upper Canada would have rapidly increased in wealth and population; as the London and Western districts enjoy a milder climate than Toronto, and embrace the most fertile lands in the province, whilst the necessity of forming great roads from it to Huron, Erie, and Ontario, would have rapidly opened the country between the three lakes. But he met with incessant opposition to his views, and his plan of settling soldiers and officers along the frontiers to form an experienced and loyal militia, did not meet the support and success which it deserved.

Kingston became therefore the great naval station. Fort Niagara was ceded with Detroit to the Americans; and Simcoe carried out, only just before he was recalled, his original intention of placing the seat of government at Toronto,—so named, it is conjectured, from an Italian engineer, who constructed the old French fort, for on all the early maps it is called *Presqu'ile de Tarento.*

The Lieutenant-governor, however, named his projected city "York;" and as he had the same difficulties, on a smaller scale, to contend against which embarrassed Peter the Great, in placing his capital on a swampy flat, it was long ere York reached even the extent of a large village; for in 1826, I saw it consisting of one long straggling street, and about 2,000 inhabitants. In 1837, when I last lived in it, it was a well-built city, with 11,000 people dwelling where General Simcoe, on his first landing to explore its dense forest, found only an Indian wigwam or two.* It is now a splendid place, containing (in 1847) 23,000 inhabitants, and is lit with gas.

* City of Toronto.—We take from *The Church* the following very interesting statistical Table. We believe the whole population to be nearly a thousand more than the number contained in this total. A new church, or rather two new churches were about being built in 1843:

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS.

	1842.	1841.
Church of England	6575	6754
Kirk of Scotland	1782	1503
Church of Rome	3000	2401
British Wesleyan Methodists	890	816
Canadian Wesleyan Methodists	724	681
Episcopal Methodists	184	—
Other Methodists	208	—

The Americans, jealous of this new and rising metropolis of a monarchical province being styled York (which was the designation of the commercial capital of the Union, and the chief city of the Empire State as they call New York), always in derision styled it *Little York*, and by new-comers it was called *Dirty York*, from the very deep mud, which, after rain and snow, they had to wade through in its streets and vicinity.

But such is the power of wealth and human industry, such the consequence of clearing away the primæval forests, that considerable streams which crossed it in

	1842.	1841.
Presbyterians not in connection with the Kirk of Scotland	821	483
Congregationalists or Independents	447	404
Papists and Anabaptists	429	430
Lutherans	13	—
Quakers	14	5
Jews	10	3
All other Denominations	239	—
United Secession Church	—	231
Primitive Methodists	—	201
Apostolical Church	—	160
African Methodists	—	39
Unitarians	—	5
No religion	—	132

"The Church of England, it will be perceived, numbers, in 1842, 179 less than in 1841. This may be accounted for by the removal of several families to Kingston, and by the want of church accommodation, driving its members into other denominations. By this time twelvemonth (1843), however, two new churches, we believe, will have been erected, and duly served by resident clergymen. In the meantime, we have no doubt that some temporary provision will be made for the performance of Divine service both at the east and west-end of our growing city. The great increase of Roman Catholics is owing to Emigration.

"The total population of the city (1842) was 15,336; but since the Census was taken, a very great addition was made to that number, by the influx of Emigrants."

their progress to the lake and bay, have dried up and disappeared, the great thoroughfares are Macadamized at a vast expense, and Little York is now Toronto, a city of brick houses, with splendid streets and shops, many of which vie in external appearance with those of the parent metropolis, whilst all around it on the land-side for many miles is a rich and well-cultivated succession of farms, which bid fair to reach to Lake Huron in one direction along Yonge-street, as they are almost uninterruptedly connected for six-and-thirty miles along a fine coach-road leading to Lake Simcoe, and passing by a wheat-growing country at Newmarket, not surpassed in fertility by any part of England.

But I shall have to discuss the capabilities of Toronto again, and must therefore leave it, to return to its Founder.

It is generally supposed at home that all the first settlers in Upper Canada were loyalists, who sought refuge from the American rebellion. It is true that a great proportion were so; but even in the very commencement of Governor Simcoe's administration it was clearly observed that many of those who sought his protection, and obtained large grants of land, by stating that they preferred to live under a monarchy, did so with the sole view of obtaining those grants, and then cared not to conceal that they were true Americans at heart; thus the troubles of Canada commenced with the declaration of its being an acknowledged and integral part of Great Britain; and in the outbreak of 1837 the portions of the province that displayed disaffection were precisely those in which

the first American settlers located themselves; so that, in 1838, Sir John Colborne (Lord Seaton) had, after an interval of forty-seven years, to carry out one part of Simcoe's wise and far-sighted scheme, by making London a large military post, and thereby raising it at once to the rank of a town.

Sir John Colborne, with the usual decision of his military character, ordered the erection of an extensive square of barracks at London, to keep that central section of country between the great lower lakes quiet, and to afford succour to Amherstburgh, Sandwich, and Windsor on the frontiers of the exposed Erie. The consequence of this wise measure was that London, laid out like Washington, in a forest, with half a dozen houses only, few and far between, has now, with an interval of only a few years, become a town, and bids fair to be the central city of the Western section of Upper Canada.

Thus one of General Simcoe's projects has been at last achieved; and Sir John Colborne during his administration of the Upper Province, carried out another, but in a better and different manner, for instead of placing the military settlers along the frontier line of the lakes, he sent them into the London and Western districts, and lined Lake Simcoe and the road to Penetangueshene with them; thus interspersing a sound and loyal race amongst those questionable settlers who had crossed the Niagara line, and provided a militia capable of resisting, hereafter, the invasion of the very distant and vulnerable points of the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron.

The utility of his measures were apparent in 1837,

for when Toronto was threatened by Mackenzie, from the back townships adjacent to it, and Duncombe was stirring up the American settlers in the London district, the loyal naval and military settlers of Lake Simcoe stood in the rear of Mackenzie; and the men of Gore, with the loyalists of the London and the Western district, soon paralyzed the doctor and his legions.

I shall have occasion, in treating of the recent history of the province, to show how Kingston, the present capital and the chief fortress and naval and military depôt, in 1837, was saved by a similar disposition of the loyalists amongst the disaffected.

Governor Simcoe remained in Upper Canada only until the year 1796, or for about four years; but he left a name which will never be forgotten there, both as respects the amiability of his private character, and the extent of his abilities and acquirements. He went to England, where he possessed extensive property, and was afterwards sent to St. Domingo,—where he suffered from the envy and jealousy of those who could neither appreciate his character, nor bear the curb he put upon their career of oppression and rapacity.

The first Parliament of Upper Canada was opened and closed in its first session, by speeches from the throne, which concisely developed the line of policy to be pursued in governing that country, for the first time under purely British rule, and the remarkable words were used, that—"Upper Canada was singularly blest, not with a mutilated constitution, but with a constitution which has stood the test of experience, and is the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain, by which she has long established and secured to her

subjects as much freedom and happiness as is possible to be enjoyed, under the subordination necessary to civilized society."

Whether Lieutenant-governor Simcoe meant any serious reflection upon the anomalous constitution which Mr. Pitt had instructed the Governor-general to administer to Lower Canada is now questionable; at all events he must have been glad that he was not fettered by an admixture of barbarous feudal and despotic laws, and with a foreign language to execute the decrees of his parliament and civil courts in. It appears that Lord Dorchester was, however, although as amiable in his private relations as his rival, somewhat jealous of the Lieutenant-governor, and did all he could by making Carleton Island, near Kingston, the great military depôt, to thwart his schemes respecting York and London, and frustrated all the intention of permitting every soldier then stationed there to become a settler, by giving him a grant of a hundred acres upon condition of his procuring a substitute.

The chief measure of Simcoe's government, which actually took permanent effect, was the carrying out of the Constitution as established by the Act of the 31st of George III., cap. 21, 1790. And in the first session of the Provincial Parliament were passed Acts of the Colonial Legislature, establishing trial by jury, regulation of weights and measures, and all summary proceedings for the recovery of small debts;—an Act altering the local divisions of the country, and establishing the Eastern district in place of that formerly called Lunenburgh, the Midland district in

place of that of Mecklenburgh, the Home district in place of Nassau, and the Western district in lieu of that of Hesse.

The succeeding Sessions were occupied with important local business, in making statutes which are now the fundamental laws of Upper Canada, including the formation of a Court of King's Bench; of Chancery; District Courts; regulation of the Militia; building Gaols and Court-houses; licensing Medical Practitioners and Lawyers, and a General Registry-office for Deeds, Wills, &c., with such district and general taxes as were necessary to be raised for the support of Government and for opening roads, and a High Court of Appeal.

The first session of the second Parliament closed his labours, and he was temporarily replaced by a President of the Council, or acting Lieutenant-governor, in whose administration was passed, in 1797, the celebrated Act for "Better Securing the Province from the King's Enemies," and for preventing them, or Aliens, dwelling therein.

The subsequent reign of a Lieutenant-governor, General P. Hunter, produced the remarkable Statute for "Securing the Province from all Seditious Attempts or Designs to Disturb its Tranquillity;" which alone shows how early the Americans began to broach their grand design of conquering Canada, and strenuous exertions were now made to introduce the cultivation of hemp, which appears somewhat ominous in conjunction with a Sedition Act.

In 1806 the province was once more under the temporary administration of a President, in whose

time the liberal grant for so young a country of £400, for the advancement of science, was made to procure philosophical instruments. A splendid set was accordingly sent out from home; which were so highly valued that, in 1832, when I first was quartered at Little York, few persons knew, and still fewer cared anything about them, and they were found, venerable with dust and neglect, along with a valuable ecclesiastical library, in one of the rooms of the General Hospital,—a most inviting situation for the friends of science to visit and use them in. An attempt was made to get up a literary and scientific society; at which, for one or two winters, lectures were given by persons who were about as much used to chemistry and natural philosophy as the instruments themselves had been since they came from the maker's hands. The society failed from this and other causes, and what has become of the instruments I cannot tell; but as the Government, in Sir John Colborne's time, had interested the Admiralty and the Royal Society in the establishment of an Observatory, which has since been carried into effect at Toronto, and as Ordnance-officers have arrived there* to superintend magnetic and meteorologic observations, I trust this splendid collection is duly housed in the Observatory. I have some interest in this subject, having been almost the original suggester of the plan of making Toronto a part of a chain of posts of science across the British American territory, from St. John's in Newfoundland to the Pacific, north of the Columbia River, by which

* Captains Lefroy and Younghusband.

a constant succession of observations of the heavenly bodies would be going on within the ring of military occupation, with which Great Britain has encircled the world.

St. John's, the capital of Newfoundland, is admirably adapted for the first link of the chain from Greenwich, lying as it does but a few degrees south of the same parallel of latitude. Here meteorologic data of great rarity and utility would be noted from the extreme humidity of the air, the dense fogs of the neighbouring banks, the Polar currents, and the Gulf Stream. The aurora, too, exhibits very constant and very novel features in Newfoundland; and there are solar and lunar phenomena which are confined to that region. The splendour of the night sky is also very great; and I have already proved in the work on "Newfoundland in 1842," that land-fogs are comparatively rare, and would not interfere with astronomical observations carried on anywhere a mile inland from the ocean, so much, probably, as is experienced at Greenwich from London fog, Thames fog, and London smoke.

The second of these stations should be the one recently established at Toronto, a little further south again than St. John's, in a climate as remarkable for the extreme dryness of the air as the Newfoundland station is for its humidity, and where the variation of the needle is little or nothing,* and where the phenomena arising from a vast inland sea of fresh water would be developed as well as those relating to the

* The mean variation at Toronto for 1850, was 1° 39′ west (nearly).—Dip of needle, 75° 20′ north.—EDITOR.

aurora; which is, I think, more splendid on Lake Ontario than anywhere else in the world.

The third station, I should propose, should be as nearly north of the Columbia River as possible, and in the same parallel, fifty-one degrees, as Greenwich; here a new set of meteorologic facts would be collected from the fine climate, the vast Pacific Ocean, and the immense and magnificent primæval forests.

The fourth station should be in the centre of the Pacific, either in the Sandwich Islands or some of those little isolated ones near the Equator,—as the Mulgraves, Christmas Island, &c.

The fifth in the China Seas, at Hongkong; the sixth, that at Calcutta;—thus belting the globe, which with the Observatory of Paramatta, in Port Jackson Harbour, Australia, and that at the Cape of Good Hope, would insure, with one on the Falkland Islands and another in Jamaica, all the auxiliary means necessary to enlarge British astronomical and meteorological science, for the extension of the commerce and resources of an Empire which alone now commands the requisites to circle the world we dwell upon, not only with her military but with her civil and scientific institutions.

But to revert to the affairs of Upper Canada; the Lieutenant-governor, who succeeded General Hunter, was Francis Gore, Esq., in 1806,—and he returning on leave to England, in 1811, the administration fell to the senior military officer, by a rule of the Colonial department now general in the Colonies.

This officer was the hero of the country,—the brave, the excellent, and the lamented General Sir Isaac

Brock,—who retained the post of honour but a short period, dying in the arms of victory in October, 1812.

Major-general Sir Roger Sheaffe succeeded for one year more, then Major-general de Rottenburg, and then Lieutenant-general Sir Gordon Drummond, who was declared Provisional Lieutenant-governor on the 13th December, 1813; being succeeded in the same post, in 1815, by Lieutenant-general Sir George Murray, the late Master-general of the Ordnance. His Excellency held this post for a short time only; and on his return to Europe, the administration was assumed by Major-general Sir Frederick Robinson, who continued in office until the return of Lieutenant-governor Gore to his post in September, 1815. Since which time, with two short temporary administrations by the Honourable Mr. Smith, the province was governed, until the Union, by Major-general Sir Peregrine Maitland, Major-general Sir John Colborne (now Lord Seaton), Sir Francis Bond Head, formerly of the Royal Engineers; Colonel Sir George Arthur, a Major-General with local rank only,—and who was the last of the Lieutenant-governors of Upper Canada.

It was in the reign of Lieutenant-governor Gore that the troubles of this fine province began; and as Lower Canada had no concern in them then, we may now state that they first showed themselves in the disgust manifested by the American settlers, who had not obtained their patents for the land which General Simcoe had so liberally granted them, and which they had opened and partially cultivated.

The Sedition Act, above mentioned, caused great

confusion for nearly two years before Lieutenant-governor Gore was sworn in, and was even animadverted upon by a judge and a grand jury, as tending to injure the country, by creating distrust amongst the people; and from this date agitators constantly appeared, until the war of 1812 broke out in all its fury. It would be uninteresting to detail the conduct of Sheriff Wilcocks, or of the grievous misunderstanding between the Lieutenant-governor and Chief-justice Thorpe, the Surveyor-general Wyatt, or of the very undignified proceedings of the House of Assembly in 1810, respecting a pamphlet which had been printed in England, and which it voted a libel on that House and the constituted authorities; and even went so far as to address the Governor, declaring it so to be. The climax to this state of things was however put by the war, which naturally drove many of the disaffected across the frontier; and in 1817, after Governor Gore had left the country entirely, Mr. Gourlay resumed the trade of a grievance-monger with the greatest success. This man, who is still living, was the first to endeavour to inform his countrymen in Britain (which he had left from some difficulties) of the real state of affairs in Upper Canada; and had he possessed moderation, with a certain share of the industrial talent which was in his nature, he would have proved of the greatest use to his adopted land.

But after obtaining the best statistical information respecting the Colony which has ever been published, he got into collision with the members of what has since been known as "The Family Compact," or, in other words, the original race of loyalists who held the

best share of the lands and offices; and, as Dr. Dunlop observed in his place in the Legislature, was most harshly and somewhat cruelly treated, by being long confined in a dungeon, which destroyed his health, and then banished for ever. The great cause for all this appears, now that the angry passions it engendered have subsided, to have been his activity as a reformer of abuses; but as he was, it seems, not at all desirous to separate the Colony from the mother country, it would have been wiser and better to have let him alone, as his very writings in the newspapers of the day, and his three thick octavo volumes upon Upper Canada, show that he was more a visionary enthusiast than a dangerous man, and the consequence of the measures pursued against him was, the natural creation of an hornet's nest, which has ever since embarrassed the Government. Indeed, so sensible are all reflecting people of his flightiness and comparative innocence and insignificance, that I saw him on board of a steamboat in Canada during the rebellion,—and although he was an outlaw, and every man might then have lawfully destroyed him, no one thought it worth while to trouble themselves about the poor old man, who was even petitioning the Parliament for a restoration of his rights, and a recompence for his injuries.

I do not know, gentle reader, if ever you have seen his work; I am certain that you have never had half the patience with it that I have had, for I have read it, and such a jumble, perhaps, never before went through the press, mixed up however with more sterling information respecting the country it treats of, than any other book extant; the diamond is in the

dunghill, but it requires much scratching and scraping to find it, and it is very dirty work, and when the brilliant is picked out, as the cock in the fable says, a good grain of wheat is better.

Gourlay was the forerunner of William Lyon Mackenzie, who possessed unwearying assiduity in grievance-seeking, the same continued resistance to "The Family Compact," and the same aptitude at calculating the extent of the difficulties he could create.

Gourlay's crime was a very common one in all colonies,—that of setting up his own opinions against the formidable array of those who are in possession of place and of power, and who frequently in the small colonies imagine themselves to be a distinct order of the state, and that it is little less than treason to think differently upon colonial matters with them even on the most trifling subjects.

That Gourlay must have created great mischief at the time, and paved the way to all subsequent miseries, cannot be doubted, as those who knew Sir Peregrine Maitland's character will never for a moment suppose that he at least was actuated by other than the purest motives in denouncing the firebrand, for a milder or a more equitable Governor never trod the shores of Lake Ontario.

We have now reached an epoch in Canadian history which renders it necessary to retrace our steps before we blend the destinies of the two provinces into one story, and to turn therefore to the Lower province after the conquest by Wolfe.

Mr. Pitt, in his projected separation of Canada into two governments, had, as we have seen, met with stern

and uncompromising opposition from his rival Fox, who succeeded in defeating the project of an hereditary nobility, and suggested the nomination of councillors for life by the Crown, to which the Premier reluctantly assented,—and the first Parliament of Lower Canada was assembled in 1792, under Lieutenant-governor Clarke and Lord Dorchester, who had held the reins ever since 1786, and was replaced by General Prescott in 1797; nothing material however occurred worthy of notice from the date of the Colony having received the boon of a local legislature.

This officer was chiefly embarrassed by continued complaints against the favouritism of the Land Board, and he was succeeded temporarily by Sir Robert Milnes in 1800, who was replaced upon the aspect of another American war by Sir James Craig,—a general-officer of great merit, who soon found that his civil as well as his military office was likely to be burthensome; for the Assembly, elated by its unusual powers, endeavoured to render itself independent of control, and a newspaper called *The Canadian*, was started to oppose his administration, which he at once suppressed.

The ministry of the day recalled him, and appointed the well-known Sir George Prevost in 1811, just previous to the alarming hostilities with the United States; which broke out in 1812, with the most sanguine prospects by the Republicans of the conquest of Canada.

Sir George, a man of great talent, but perhaps more of a statesman than a general, was at first extremely popular. No preceding Governor-general had experienced so difficult a position as that in which he was

placed, with a factious Parliament to control, and an enterprizing enemy at his door.

The tocsin of war sounded throughout the land; the Roman Catholic clergy, apprehensive that the Republican government of the United States, in case the conquest of Canada should be perfected, would not be very ready to acknowledge the freedom upon religious subjects which they had hitherto enjoyed; and the French Canadians as a body disliking *les sacrés Bostonais* infinitely more than they disliked their heretic masters, from whom they had only received support and kindness, rose *en masse* upon the prospect of invasion, the priesthood preaching loyalty and royalty, and the people throwing aside their agricultural habits, shouldering the musket as one man in defence of King George, and of their beloved Canada.

In the Upper province the same results with the British race took effect; disaffection and grumbling ceased, notwithstanding the vain-glorious boasting of the American officials that Canada required no soldiers, and only the pen, to subjugate it to the yoke of Republicanism. Sir George Prevost was enabled with the trifling force of only 4,500 regulars, assisted by the great moral strength of a determined militia, to keep the whole military resources of the national enemy in check, and to preserve to Great Britain the brightest jewel of her Crown until the Napoleon wars were terminated, and the armies of the mother country were available against an attack upon her territories, which, but for those wars, and the embroiled state of Europe, would never have been attempted.

I have not entered upon the events of the French

war at the commencing chapter of this work, because the book is not professedly historical, and there are really so few readers of modern history now-a-days that even great pains taken to develope the obscure and almost unknown history of a neighbouring colony, Newfoundland, from sources difficult to obtain and ancient black-letter books, now extremely rare, was said to be very dry reading; besides, the general tenor of events is better known as relates to Canadian affairs, and therefore require handling lightly, and to be succinctly and clearly remodelled.

The American government calmly witnessed England engaged in a struggle for liberty and religion, which had placed Europe in panoply, and had brought the Huns and the Goths of modern times once more upon the fertile plains of France and Italy,—the protectors, however, instead of the destroyers of civilization; that government, founded upon the Utopian scheme of equality and unlimited freedom, aimed the most deadly blow at both, which England had throughout her magnanimous career against the Corsican lawgiver and conqueror ever sustained.

Distracted by the prospect of an attack upon all her transatlantic Colonies, alarmed, from the precedent of Washington, that her deadly enemies would eventually be again brought into the American field of war, Britain trusted to the sense and to the honour of her Canadian subjects to fight her Christian battle until she should, by the aid of her continental allies, crush the hydra, whose coronetted heads had overshadowed every other European throne.

Her Canadian children answered the appeal, as we

have observed, by a simultaneous rush to arms, and the peaceful tillers of the earth ranged themselves in battalions under their feudal chiefs, or under their magistrates and gentry, as if the old French glory of arms had suddenly revived, and the spirit of Peter the Hermit, and of Bayard, had filled the priesthood and the people with unbounded zeal for a new crusade against the oppressors of the Catholic church.

The first British Governor of Lower Canada, General Murray, stated that the population soon after the conquest amounted to 69,275, and was composed almost entirely of a race of French, permanently settled along the shores of the St. Lawrence, and chiefly on the left bank, on small contiguous farms, their character being that of an industrious, contented, frugal, and very moral people, who passed a happy existence under a rural noblesse, far from rich, excepting in comfort and in the affections of their dependents. They were poor from various causes,—that of the feudal system of allotments of land, descending in a species of gavel-kind amongst all the children of a family of cultivators, being one primary reason which still acts upon the French farmers of Lower Canada; and another, that the French government had declined paying the defalcations of the treasury, in the bills and paper currency of the last intendant of the finances, who is stated by competent authority to have involved the province to the enormous amount of nearly three millions and a half sterling; which, however by recent accounts, appears to have been rather too largely imagined.

The conquest, therefore, conferred benefits upon the

Colonists which were of the utmost importance; as a settled rule, the faith of the British Government and an ample enjoyment of freedom of person and faith was ensured.

The first error committed was a natural one, and one that was also committed by our Norman ancestors at the Conquest. The British traders, then neither numerous nor highly respectable, who supplied the camp and the government, attained to important offices in the magistracy and state; and upon them and upon military men, situations of profit or of honour were exclusively conferred.

The Governor, therefore, was very soon embroiled; these newly-made gentry felt their power quickly, and made the French feel it also, whilst with that uniform arrogance which characterizes uninformed and under-bred men, in all civilized society, they domineered over the Canadian representatives of the time-honoured families of ancient France, contemptuously considering a poor French nobleman, whose family reached to the Carlovingian or Merovingian dynasties, as infinitely beneath the notice of a mushroom shopkeeper or an agent of the London houses of commerce; and looked upon the plain, good-humoured, simple peasantry as merely occupying territory which belonged, by right of arms, to their countrymen.

This pride of official station, which has embarrassed many other transatlantic Governors since the days of General Murray, was sternly repressed by that good officer, who took the abused noblesse under his personal protection, soothed their wounded pride, and treated the constant attacks upon his character and

conduct, which even went so far as to be represented to the Home Government as unbearable, with the coolness of contempt; and eventually not only obtained the respect and confidence of the people, but mainly assisted in the subsequent development of their loyalty and gratitude to the British Crown.

They rejected with disdain the offer of being admitted to a participation in the American Union; and when Arnold and Montgomery were sent to subjugate them, in 1775, by the capture of Quebec and Montreal, the French Canadians taught the Americans a lesson, which they have never forgotten and have never forgiven.

Sir Guy Carleton was the Governor of Canada; and after escaping from Montreal, with great difficulty, threw himself into Quebec,—where he had only 1,800 men under arms, of which seventy only were regulars; the rest militia, sailors, or some old soldiers of a disbanded corps of Highlanders.

The result is well known; for although Arnold had possessed himself of the Heights of Abraham, and attempted the repetition of Wolfe's stratagem, both Montgomery and Arnold signally failed, either in their design of drawing out an inferior force from the only stronghold left in the country, or to storm it in a night assault. Montgomery, whose military renown is enrolled on the pages of history, fell; Arnold was wounded,—and thus ended the hopes of the sanguine Americans. The worst feature in this eventful siege is, that Montgomery, who deserved, from his talents and courage, a better fate, had served under Wolfe, and was a British subject. The adventures of Arnold are

better known. The treason of the former was amply revenged by that of the latter.

Very little disturbance, internal or external, occurred until 1790, if we except what has been already noticed, the growing desire for a constitution; and when that was granted (as we have seen), discussions arose which strengthened and increased in proportion as the people felt the power they had gained, until the next American war, in 1812, when Sir George Prevost was Governor-general of Canada, and experienced the same gallant reaction and assistance from the French race as his predecessors had experienced years before.

CHAPTER III.

The War in Canada, from 1812 to 1815.

We now arrive at a period when the affairs of Upper and Lower Canada become so closely interwoven for three years that they cannot be separated.

The regular troops in Upper Canada amounted only to 1,450 men, with a frontier of nearly a thousand miles to protect, and with fortresses, originally of the most temporary construction, in ruins.

In Lower Canada the regular army consisted of 3,050 men, to defend a territory reaching from the Ocean to the Ottawa, with only one fortress, and that in a very different state from its present condition.

At first the inhabitants were panic-struck; but being roused by an eloquent appeal to their feelings and patriotism by Sir George Prevost, they shook off their temporary delusion, and the brave Canadian Militia embodied themselves in Quebec, and appeared everywhere in arms, to fight for their natal soil and the preservation of their homes and their cherished faith.

But the blow was not to fall on Lower Canada, as was at first anticipated; nearly thirty years had

passed since 1783, when the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States had disbanded its army, and sent its best soldiers to the plough or to the rust of retirement. Thus it was found impracticable either to form the *personnel* or the *materiel*, for such a siege as that of the strongest fortress in America, weak though it had become from the neglect of a long peace. Leaders were with great difficulty selected from amongst the citizen soldiers; and at last General Hull, a veteran of the revolutionary wars, was found, and led an army of raw recruits against the Western and most unprotected frontier of Upper Canada.

He crossed from Detroit over the narrow lake or channel of that name, between Huron and Erie, on the 12th of July, 1812, and issued a proclamation remarkable for its threatenings and solicitations.* On the other hand he threatened to exterminate every Canadian found in the same battle-field with an Indian, and solicited the people to join him *en masse*, or, at least, to remain neutral.

But Hull committed a serious military error,—he landed without heavy ordnance to support him, left a strong entrenched post at Amherstburg, named Fort Malden, behind him, and penetrated the country, causing terror in the peaceable, hatred in the great mass of the settlers, and proving the loyalty of the invaded country by finding that he was joined only by people who had emigrated from his own native land,

* The reader is requested to compare all the movements of the American generals with those of the sympathisers in 1838; he will find the latter took their lesson in tactics from the former.

for the purpose of carrying out American principles.

The grasping spirit which the American government displayed in the enlargement of its territory, by the gradual removal of the Indian tribes to the westward, had exasperated that race: and no sooner had Michilimackinac, the most westerly post of strength on the Huron and Michigan Lakes, which controlled them, fallen, as it speedily did after the announcement of hostilities, than Upper Canada was covered with hordes of red men, seeking the British banner, and vowing hatred to the Big Knives, as they styled the white race of the United States.

Much has been written, and much has been said about the employment of the savage Indian in our wars; but it appears to me that dreadful as the effects of his treacherous courage undoubtedly are, it was perfectly justifiable against an enemy who sought the occasion of the embarrassment of his parent, in an unexampled struggle, which had involved the European world against an Alexander who lived only for conquest, and who made temple and tower go down as it suited his caprice, or, as he vainly imagined, the star of his destiny indicated.

General Brock, finding that Hull had committed the mistakes we have noticed, assembled his whole available force on the Niagara frontier; and in one month after the first day of the invasion, arrived, on the 12th of August, at Amherstburgh, where he collected the militia of Indians,—and with not more than 350 troops of the line, 600 Indian warriors, and 400 militia, then unused to arms, boldly advanced into

the United States against Hull; who had taken the very prudent resolution of recrossing the river, and had shut himself up, with about 800 men, in Detroit, with all his battering-train, which he had been collecting to reduce Fort Malden, a mere mud-work.

The amusing boast of Hull, that he came to annex Upper Canada to the United States of America, and that the Bald Eagle would worry the Old Lion, until he was shipped across the Atlantic, and would even then beard him in his den,—for, in other words, his proclamation meant all this,—ended in the farce of a white flag being instantly hoisted on the entrenched camp at Detroit, as soon as the gallant Brock and his little army landed near that position.

The feeble-minded and the wavering in the Canadas were now reassured; they said that the memorable speech of Mr. Clay was really as little prophetic as a speech could well be. "It is absurd," said that statesman in Congress, in a debate upon the probabilities of the war, "to suppose we shall not succeed in our enterprise against the enemy's provinces; we have the Canadas as much under command as Great Britain has the Ocean. We must take the Continent from them. I never wish to see a peace until we do." The Americans have tried the experiment three times, and have been three times signally defeated; and every time the Canadian Militia have shown that they are not disposed to part so readily with a country which they prophecy may yet become of as much importance in the world as that of their neighbours.

I am fully persuaded that Mackenzie deeply repented his alliance with the sympathizers, who merely made

a tool of him, and would have soon thrown him off, had they succeeded in their very neighbourly and charitable designs; and I feel equally persuaded that if Papineau would speak his sentiments, that his great object was the absolute independence of *la nation Canadienne* and not that of being enrolled under the Stars and the Eagle,—only he did not foresee that, unaided by England, his nation would soon have become pretty much in the same predicament as the Frenchmen remaining in Louisiana are now in, without a language, and without a political existence, scarcely recollected in the world, and absorbed altogether in the vortex of an Anglo-Saxon democracy of a nature which itself cannot endure, mixing as it does the oil and vinegar of liberty and slavery with universal religious toleration, and the bigotry of the Puritans against Roman Catholicism, the aristocracy of wealth with the chartism of equality; and, above all, an eager desire to extend an empire already too large to control effectively, considering the very opposite commercial and agricultural interests embraced. In short, it is an absolute blessing, abstractedly considered, that the Canadas promise so well to be a powerful state under monarchical institutions, and that they will remain under British rule for the very many years which must elapse before they are strong enough to become an ally instead of a dependent of their glorious protector.

The fierce principles of modern Republicanism will thus receive a continual check and lesson from the more moderate tone of society under a constitutional monarchy; and the balance of power will be so poised, that the scale in which real liberality and toleration is

placed must always preponderate, whilst furious religious wars will meet with neither countenance nor support.

Canada will hereafter be to the United States of America, throughout all the modern unions down to the Southern Ocean, what Great Britain has been to Europe,—the refuge and the fountain, the fortress of protection from extreme political excitement, and the well of living waters which shall feed and nourish the persecuted soul. There slavery is, and ever will be, unknown: there man traffics not in the bone and muscle of his fellow-man, merely because Nature has endowed him with more cunning or more power, and a differently-coloured skin. There, as in England, the religious convictions of a fellow-creature, however absurd they may be, are sacred,—and altars, anchorites, and females devoted to the services of an ancient and once a predominant faith, are secure from desecration and from conflagration, or from the unhallowed intrusions and insults of a howling mob of the half-instructed mechanics and labourers of a city of yesterday.

General Hull,—a veteran of a new country, in whom was reposed the hopes of its citizens,—paid the penalty of its rashness and of his own want of foresight. He was tried by a council of war, and condemned to be shot; but his age and services saved him from that ignominy, and he was spared, only to be held up as a warning to future adventurers in the scheme of aggrandizement.

The cabinet of the United States, however, determined upon the conquest, and he was replaced in the

command of the North-western army by General Van Rensellaer, of an ancient Dutch family, which had long possessed domains of great extent in the old province of New York, and who led a disorderly army of 6,000 men once more against Upper Canada. He chose a new scene; and accordingly on the 13th of October of the same year crossed the Niagara river at Queenston.

But the Union was not an union of opinion, for the New England confederacy, suffering by the almost total prostration of its Atlantic commerce, refused to join with its contingencies of militia in carrying on the war; and thus a second invasion, better planned and better executed, again signally failed.

Sir Isaac Brock, collecting his small forces, assailed the position of the American General upon Queenston Heights,—a position chosen in the full anticipation of its impregnability, but possessing one feature which had been strangely overlooked, that of bordering on the wild and terrible precipices which overhang the pent-up stream of the Great St. Lawrence, there struggling for an exit into the expanse of Ontario. A hard fought action resulted, at the close of which Brock and his aide-de-camp M'Donald fell in the arms of victory; for the American army having retreated, were soon afterwards compelled to surrender by General Sheaffe. The scene, in which the unfortunate invaders lost all command of themselves, and were consequently beyond military control, was dreadful; the British bayonet pursued the fugitives to the awful precipice, and numbers were hurled over to find death in the leap into a raging river.

Undismayed, however, the American army was re-

organized under General Smyth; who on the 28th of November crossed the Niagara higher up, near its exit from Lake Erie, at Black Rock, where the Canadian village of Waterloo now stands, but below the Rapids. Here they were met by Lieutenant-colonel Bishopp; who defeated and drove them back with his brave militia to their own territory, notwithstanding that their force at Black Rock amounted to 4,500 men of all arms, and his did not exceed 600; and after threatening another descent on Lake Erie, a mile or two further west, where the British had a fort, the third invasion of Canada ended as its forerunners had done.

It now became a war of outposts. Captain M'Donnell crossed from Prescott on the ice of the St. Lawrence to attack the American garrison of Ogdensburgh, which he defeated with singular gallantry, capturing their military stores and cannon; but the rigours of winter suspended further operations, and both sides occupied it in preparing for a vigorous campaign in 1813.

Sackett's Harbour, on Lake Ontario, was now chosen for the place at which the invading army was to assemble, and the command was given to General Dearborn, whilst a large flotilla under Commodore Chauncey was to co-operate with him for the reduction of Little York, the capital of the Upper Province, which then contained along its extensive frontier no more than 2,100 British regulars.

York was garrisoned, in a miserable earthwork, by General Sheaffe with 600 men, chiefly militia, and, to his surprise, he was assailed on the 27th of April 1813, by 2,000 Americans; it fell after several hours' desultory fighting, in which the British Canadians suffered dread-

fully, and the American Brigadier-general Pike was killed by the explosion of the powder-magazine, which a non-commissioned officer of the royal artillery bravely set fire to after the work had been abandoned, and which killed or severely wounded upwards of 200 of the assailants.

Here the invaders destroyed all the public property, and remained until the 1st of May, after liberating all the militia officers on parole who had been taken or surrendered upon capitulation. The military chest escaped, by, as it is stated, being buried in the woods by the commissary; who for his gallantry was afterwards rewarded with large grants of land, and is now, or was lately, one of the magnates of Toronto. General Sheaffe retreated towards Kingston, and saved the remainder of his little band, who had so much distinguished themselves.

Newark, or Niagara, the British head-quarters in Upper Canada, was the next object of Dearborn's attack, with the whole of his army and fleet, and the powerful assistance of the old French fort Niagara, which had been well armed and strengthened. Lieutenant-general Vincent, to oppose this formidable attack, had not more than 1,300 men; the chief part, however, being regular troops. Four thousand Americans, after destroying the defences by a cannonade, landed on the 27th of May, 1813; and the British finding the post untenable, retreated to Burlington Heights.

To counteract this successful invasion, a fleet was manned and prepared at Kingston, under Commodore Yeo; and Sir George Prevost, the Governor-general, advanced with it to destroy the naval and military

depôt at Sackett's Harbour, which had been left unprotected.

This was the first reverse of a serious nature which the regulars and militia of Upper Canada had experienced; for Sir George after landing effected nothing, and retreated.

To counterbalance this misfortune, which depressed the spirit of the troops and of the people, Colonel Procter advanced from Detroit against another division of the American army, destined to recover Detroit, and to invade Canada at another point, under General Winchester, and which had reached with a force of 1,000, to Frenchtown, about twenty-five miles from Detroit. Here he boldly attacked them with 500 men, and an auxiliary force of nearly the same number of Indians, on the 22nd of January, 1813, and so completely defeated them, after a hard fought action, taking almost all the survivors prisoners, amongst whom was Winchester; whose coadjutor, General Harrison, on hearing of this reverse, entrenched himself at the Rapids of the Miami River.

The indefatigable Procter, receiving intelligence of this assemblage, started from Amherstburgh, to which he had returned, with an increased force of 1,000 troops of the line and militia, and more than 1,000 Indians, and attacking Harrison in his stronghold on the 1st of May, so paralyzed him that all his schemes of invasion were frustrated. The war then raged in the Niagara district; for Generals Chandler and Winder were despatched with 4,000 men from Niagara to bring Vincent's army to action at Burlington.

The position chosen to effect this was Stony Creek,

a small stream running into the Ontario, in the township of Saltfleet, where it crosses the road from Niagara to Burlington Bay, at about seven or eight miles from the town of Hamilton. Here the two generals halted, to prepare for their ulterior measures, which were so combined as to surround and destroy the little Canadian army.

I cannot help, as a military man, dwelling a little upon the result, for two reasons; the first, because it gave rise to one of the most brilliant stratagems of the war; and the second, that I am writing this book next door to that Government-house in which the hero of the action is now living, honoured and respected by all true-hearted subjects of the Atlantic provinces of Great Britain.

The American generals encamped in the utmost security, favoured by a strong position, and confident in the overpowering force they had marched thus far into the bowels of the land.

Lieut.-colonel Harvey, then on the Staff, was employed to reconnoitre the camp; and having carefully ascertained its exact position and the nature of its defences, suggested to Major-general Vincent that a night attack and surprise, if executed with vigilance and judgment, would, no doubt, under all the circumstances, prove successful. He was immediately selected for this service, and entrusted with the execution of his own daring plan; and leading 704 men of the 8th and 49th Regiments, on the night of the 5th June, 1813, surprised and completely routed 3,500 of the best troops of the invaders at the point of the bayonet, taking both

Generals Chandler and Winder prisoners, 7 inferior officers, and 116 men, with several pieces of cannon, withdrawing his gallant companions only as daylight appeared, and obliging the enemy to retreat to Forty-mile Creek, in the township of Grimsby; where, hearing that the English Commodore was on his way to reinforce Vincent, they abandoned all hopes, and returned to Niagara,—sending however thence a force of 700 men, under Colonel Boerstler, to dislodge the British advanced piquet at the Beaver Dam, which had most inconveniently placed itself so as to intercept their communications.* This spirited and well-conceived action turned the whole tide of the war, and paralyzed all the future projects of the enemy; for had it not occurred, Vincent's division would probably have fallen with the whole of the Niagara peninsula into their power. It taught the over-confident what can be achieved by disciplined troops; and, brave as the Americans are, it showed them that on fair terms of war the use of the rifle will never supersede that of the musket, and that bush-fighting can never raise the fame of a soldiery, or be mistaken for valour.

* In speaking, on one occasion, to an officer of rank regarding the use of the bayonet, he said that Stony Creek proved its terrible power. He had instructed four men to put an enemy *hors de combat*, without noise; and advancing with them silently towards the Americans bivouacked at Stony Creek, he was challenged by the first sentry "Who goes there?" answer "Friend!" and immediately two bayonets were crossed, and the sentry fell off the weapons without a word; the second experienced the same fate, but the third, making a slight noise "as a fowl would make," a volley from the picket was the consequence, but it did little damage in the dark. The officer and his men then rushed on, the surprised Americans were routed, and their generals captured. Such are some of the dreadful effects of war!—EDITOR.

The gallant officer who achieved this splendid feat, entered the army in his early youth, in the year 1794; and at the age of sixteen planted the colours of the 80th Regiment,—commanded by Lord Paget, the present Marquess of Anglesea,—the first upon the Dike of the Wahl, when General (Sir David) Dundas, with 20 battalians of infantry, on the 31st December, drove the French across that river.

In 1796, this young officer was one of that expedition which captured the Cape of Good Hope and the Dutch fleet, in Saldanha Bay. He afterwards served in Ceylon; and crossed the Desert of Thebes as a Brigade-major of the Indian army, under Sir David Baird—who marched, in 1800, to the relief of the army of Egypt. Returning to India, he took the field with the Madras forces, and was appointed aide-de-camp to Major-general Dowdeswell of the Guards, who commanded a wing of the Bengal army under Lord Lake.

On arriving at Agra, on his way to join, he performed a feat which may be shortly alluded to, and which brought him at once under that distinguished officer's notice. At Agra there were several generals, and a number of other officers, waiting for an opportunity to join the army then in the field, with which all communication had been cut off by the enemy's irregulars. Obtaining leave to make the attempt to join, he borrowed a friend's horse and set off at midnight, and safely reached the camp, after numerous "hair-breadth scapes," from which he got out by the excellence of his horse, his own complete command of the animal, and his caution and courage. "Ce n'est

que le première pas qui coute." This enterprising and gallant act was the "flood which led on to fortune," and the officer who had so distinguished himself went through the campaigns against Holkar and Scindiah with the approbation and countenance of his great commander. He returned with Lord Lake from India in 1807, and was subsequently upon the Staff as Assistant Quartermaster-general in England, as Assistant Adjutant-general in Ireland, and, in 1812, as Deputy Adjutant-general with the Canadian army; and married that amiable and excellent lady, the daughter of his chief, Viscount Lake.

In December, 1812, on arriving at Halifax, he found that the war with America was raging in Canada, and determined to join. Lieutenant-colonel Harvey undertook the perilous pass of the forests of the disputed territory,—then never attempted by any other person than Indians or Canadian *coureurs des Bois* since the experiment of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. He walked through the eternal forest, deep with accumulated snows, one hundred and fifty miles on Indian snow-shoes, and slept five nights with no other canopy than the sky, and the thermometer ranging from twenty to thirty degrees below the zero of Fahrenheit.

This adventurous journey led the way to that constant passage of troops which has since occurred, and proved the salvation of the Canadas, as reinforcements of soldiers and sailors were sent by it immediately afterwards in 1813.*

* Hence the necessity for a military road of 550 miles from Halifax to Quebec, on the exploration and survey of which the Editor was engaged in 1844-45; but a cry for a railway placed the military road in abeyance.

I need not follow the history of Lieutenant-colonel Harvey's Canadian services, as they have been already mentioned; but it is beyond doubt that the advice he tendered led to the results which followed, of driving the invaders everywhere from the soil. Stony Creek changed the face of the war; the American army instead of overruning the province was held in check by a vastly inferior force and cooped up in Fort George, which it was at last obliged to abandon, and then was even driven from his own stronghold. Fort Niagara, Chrystler's Farm, Oswego, Lundy's Lane, Fort Erie, Chippewa, record the talents of Lieutenant-colonel Harvey; who on returning to England was sent out, in 1824, as a Commissioner on the part of Government for the affairs of the Canada Land Company. Next year he was made Aide-de-camp to the King; and in 1828, appointed to the charge of the Constabulary armed force for Leinster,—which office he held for eight years with the highest credit and honour to himself.

Colonel Harvey's service in the four quarters of the globe gave him the soldier's reward,—the Star of the Bath and that of the Guelph; and in 1836, he was sent out to Prince Edward's Island as Lieutenant-governor, from which he was removed to the more important government of New Brunswick in 1837; where he distinguished himself by his admirable conduct respecting the Boundary dispute, by sending all his disposable troops to the succour of Canada, and by offering to march 5,000 militiamen to assist in garrisoning Quebec, and in keeping the districts below it quiet.

In 1841, Sir John Harvey was sent to accomplish the difficult task of governing Newfoundland, where for centuries naval supremacy and naval law had been predominant, and which was for the first time becoming one of the Colonies of Great Britain. The singular good-fortune of this accomplished soldier in having eecaped through such a series of arduous campaigns as those of Holland, the coast of France, Egypt, India, and Canada, comparatively unwounded, is one of those rare occurrences which have distinguished the pre-eminent warriors of the last century. He had repeatedly suffered the loss of horses shot under him, and at Oswego, amidst a heavy fire, when the Commodore Sir James Yeo was hit in five places, whilst leaning on his arm to assist himself in ascending with the troops from the beach, he remained untouched. Sir John, was, in short, only wounded once in the course of a life of active actual service which has few parallels. He is now Governor of Nova Scotia.

Another laurel was gained by the 49th. Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, of that corps, now a Colonel of the Canadian Militia,* and lately high in office, who is a personal friend, and whom I delight in recollecting, effected another military *ruse*. Unable to cope with a large American force at the "Beaver Dam," with a mere piquet of regulars and Indians, he detached his Indians in the woods, and made such warlike demonstrations round the Americans, that, at last, finding he had surprised his adversary not a little, he boldly advanced with a flag of truce, and commanding

* A Military Knight at Windsor.—EDITOR.

immediate surrender in the name of a field-officer, who was *in nubibus*, or elsewhere, upon pain of immediate extermination by the infuriated savages.

Lieutenant-colonel Boerstler at first refused to believe him; but Lieutenant Fitzgibbon having detained him in conversation until the Indians had passed his flanks and got into the rear, where they occasionally displayed themselves at intervals in the thick woods, the unfortunate officer was completely deceived, fancied himself hemmed in to destruction, and then surrendered at discretion; soon finding, however, after he had laid down his arms to the Lieutenant's detachment of the 49th, that he might have walked over his conquerors, whose only difficulty was that of securing their panic-stricken prisoners.

I recollect a similar attempt at mystification by an excellent young officer of Engineers, in Portugal, which, however, met with a different fate. This officer, reconnoitring a position of the French army under Junôt, found himself suddenly, in a thick fog, in presence of a squadron of heavy cavalry. His presence of mind,—that most invaluable gift of Nature to a soldier,—never forsook him, although he was surrounded by the frowning countenances of the mustachioed warriors, whose sabres seemed ready to chop him into minced-meat. Riding up to the Commander, a gray-headed veteran of a hundred battles, he told him that the French outpost of Cavalry was surrounded by a superior British force, and summoned him immediately to follow him and surrender, hoping, I suppose, in the fog and confusion, he himself would be able to manage an escapade.

The old French chevalier, not a whit daunted, smiled and twirled his hairy lip. "Eh bien, mon camarade, comme vous êtes malin, mais, diantre! non-obstant, brave comme le diable, jeune, bien jeune, encore, rendez, s'il vous plait, votre jolie épée, ou je vous ferai l'honneur d'un coup de grace; neanmoins, d'ailleurs, mon brave, je suis vieux oiseau, *I am not, sar, to be taken wis de chaff.*" So Monsieur le Lieutenant du genie was handed over to Marshal Junôt, who kept him at his table in admiration of the enterprising spirit displayed by a youth just out of the military school.

The Americans were now driven from every part of Canada except Niagara; and Colonel Bishopp in an attempt to capture their depôt at Black Rock, in which he succeeded, fell gloriously, whilst the British flotilla was carrying the war from Lower Canada into the State of New York, by destroying the depôt at Plattsburgh on Lake Champlain, and taking many small armed vessels.

The war had hitherto been favourable, the Militia of both provinces had borne a conspicuous part; and for whose gallant conduct the Prince Regent sent a pair of colours, with the word "Niagara," to the Incoporated Militia of Upper Canada. These colours were always kept at Government-house, after the peace, and duly displayed upon every state occasion, in the great dining-room, as a proud memorial of former days. I have often seen them so displayed, in Sir John Colborne's time and in Sir Francis Head's.

A shadow now passed over British American glory.

General Harrison's western army, in the autumn of 1813, had been augmented to more than 5,000, amongst whom were conspicuous a race of men from the far western state of Kentucky, who rivalled the Indians in woodcraft, and considered themselves as a distinct people, vulgarly stating that they were "half-horse, half-alligator," alluding probably to their skill in equestrian and "fluviatile" exercises. These men, unskilled in the amenities of civilized life, were the true pioneers of the West, and fitted well to cope with the original owners of the soil.

This army had fortified the village of Sandusky upon Lake Erie, upwards of forty miles from Detroit, and at the southernmost Bay of Erie, from which they could easily cross to the western district of Canada. General Procter immediately attempted to dislodge them, but unavailingly, as the Americans had now a fleet on Lake Erie, which was larger and better furnished than that of the British, under the brave but unfortunate Barclay, who, however, brought it to action, and having actually compelled the American Commodore Perry to strike, was, by one of the unforseen caprices of fortune, soon afterwards obliged to lower the proud flag of England, and to surrender his whole fleet of two ships, two brigs, a schooner, and a sloop, mounting sixty-three guns, to an enemy with nine finer vessels, mounting fifty-four guns of a heavier weight of metal, and assisted by numerous gun-boats, on the 10th September, 1813; whilst he who had already lost one arm in his country's service, was now most severely wounded in the other. The best feature of the war occurred after this action;

Commodore Perry having forgotten national animosities, in the kindness with which he treated his suffering foe.

The immediate consequence of this victory was the retreat of General Procter from Amherstburgh, up the Thames; on whose banks, at Moravian Town, he halted and endeavoured to maintain his position, with 800 troops and 500 Indians, having been obliged to part with a large force of both militia and red warriors for want of supplies. General Harrison penetrated Canada by the same route, and with 3,500 men.

Here the little army was obliged to surrender, or to fly before such disproportionate numbers; and here the most renowned of Indian chiefs, the brave and lamented warrior, Tecumseth, fell on the 5th October, 1813, after he had led his people into a severe conflict with the mounted riflemen of Kentucky, by whose leader he was shot. To the disgrace of some unknown persons, his body was treated with savage barbarity.* This chief was, of course, an object of extreme hatred on the part of the American invaders, as he had succeeded in uniting almost all the tribes bordering on the lakes in an union of the strictest confederacy, against the usurpations of the Big Knives; and, to complete this, the favourite scheme of his whole life, he had joined the British and rendered the most essential service to them; in fact, without his aid, it is more than probable that the early part of the war would have been very different in its results.

* Recently I got on this disastrous field a small old-fashioned breastplate marked with the number of the gallant 41st, before and after this so highly distinguished.—EDITOR.

General Procter escaped as far as Ancaster, on the Niagara frontier, with 250 men; and Detroit being thus once more restored to the United States, the American Cabinet, flushed with success, determined to carry their whole strength against Montreal, and thus secure the entire subjugation of Upper Canada.

Two grand divisions of their army were accordingly put in motion; the first, under General Hampton, was to proceed into Canada from Lake Champlain, with 6,000 men; the other from an island opposite to Kingston and near Sackett's Harbour, with 8,800 men, or an army of invasion consisting of the imposing force of 14,800.

This grand expedition, which was to place the star-spangled banner on the walls of Quebec, was a complete failure. Hampton marched as far, by the end of October, 1813, as Chateaugay on the river of that name, which falls into the St. Lawrence, opposite to Montreal Island. Here he was opposed by a look-out corps, under that brave French Canadian officer, Lieutenant-colonel De Salaberry and Lieutenant-colonel Mc Donnell, who, with only 800 Militia and 170 Indians, obliged the general and his great army absolutely to retreat.

The other army sailed down the St. Lawrence, having landed two divisions, to avoid the tremendous rapids of the Longue Sault, on the 11th of November 1813. One of these divisions, under Major-general Boyd, encountered a detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Morrison, who was posted at Chrystler's Farm; and after a hard-fought action, in which the American general, Covington, was mortally wounded,

the Americans were forced to retire upon their flotilla. The numbers upon both sides engaged were,—British regulars and militia 800 men,* and three guns; American division, six guns, and 2,500 men.

For this splendid action, which decided the campaign in 1813, a medal was granted. The grand army, thus roughly treated, took up their winter quarters at Plattsburgh, after threatening Kingston and Prescott. The British in the meantime were not idle; and General Vincent, by a spirited advance against General McClure, who had been left in command on the Niagara, obliged that portion of the intrusive army also to regain their own shores with as little delay as possible; where it was followed by Colonel Murray, who surprized and stormed Fort Niagara. General Vincent then proceeded to destroy and burn the American towns of Buffalo, Black Rock, and Lewistown, in retaliation for the barbarous act of McClure,—who had, before he quitted Upper Canada, set fire, in the depth of a Canadian winter, to the beautiful little town of Niagara, or Newark as it was then called.

At the storm of Fort Niagara, Sir John Harvey again distinguished himself; and here the Canadian Knight, Sir Allan McNab, first came under his notice,—for I have heard Sir John observe, that as he was about to embark in one of the boats, two young

* Colonel Morrison from Kingston, with the remains of the 49th and 89th, and two 6-pounders, amounting to 500 rank and file; Lieut.-Colonel Pearson from Prescott, with the two flank companies of the 49th, Canadian Fencibles and Voltigeurs and 6 Provincial Dragoons, with a 6-pounder manned by Militia Artillery, in all 240 rank and file; and Lieut. Anderson with 30 Indians—total 800 men.

volunteers, with arms in their hands, earnestly entreated to share in the storm; one was Sir Allan, and the other the present Chief-justice Robinson, of Western Canada.

The campaign of 1814 began on the 30th March, by General Wilkinson attacking with 4,000 men the British post of observation, stationed in the mill of La Colle, on the Richelieu, where Leiutenant-colonel Williams with 1,500 men had strongly fortified his little position. Wilkinson after several determined assaults was forced to resume his quarters on Lake Champlain.

The British, on the 5th May, 1814, embarked a force, under General Drummond and Commodore Yeo, from Kingston, to attack Oswego. A gallant landing and fight, wherein the present Governor of Nova Scotia again distinguished himself, caused the American commander, Colonel Mitchell, to retreat, whereby he lost his stores, barracks, some naval equipments, and two cannon.

The war here shifted to the Niagara and Erie frontier, once more; and General Brown, with 5,000 men, took possession of Fort Erie, garrisoned by only 170 troops; who surrendered on the 3rd July, 1814. Major-general Riall moved towards Chippewa to meet him in his march on Fort George, and his advanced guard met General Brown's army on the 5th July at Street's Creek,—or as it is now usually called, the Battle-ground of Chippewa. Major-generals Scott, Ripley, and Porter, commanded portions of the American army; which was one of the best officered of the war.

The attack commenced by the British troops, under Lieutenant-colonel Pearson. The overwhelming force

opposed to them, after a short but spirited encounter, in which Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, and the Marquis of Tweedale were wounded, in the act of leading their regiments to the charge, obliged the British to retreat across the river; where they took up a position, which enabled General Riall to continue an unmolested retreat to Queenston, Fort George, and as far as the Twenty-mile Creek towards the Burlington Heights. Here he collected reinforcements and stores; and General Brown, having followed him as far as Fort George, attempted to carry it, but signally failed; and was himself obliged to perform a retrograde movement to Chippewa.

The two armies were however not very long inactive, but advancing towards each other met at Lundy's Lane, on the 25th July. Lundy's Lane is a rising ground upon a road leading to the interior, and about three-quarters of a mile from that part of the great Horse-shoe Fall, where it approaches the Niagara road from Chippewa. A thin belt of chestnut forest separated the American and the British armies.

The battle,—one of the most brilliant of the war,—commenced by the Americans emerging from the skirts of the wood to the south-east of the church; and General Riall, forced to retire, was fortunately reinforced by General Drummond, who directed the whole brigade to take post along the ridge.

General Scott's division commenced firing almost simultaneously with the British, at half-past five in the afternoon. The blaze of cannon and musketry, instead of being as usual covered in American warfare by the forest, was here displayed in fair field and in open

day for an hour, until General Scott was strengthened by General Brown; who then took the command in person,—and about nine, a second reinforcement to the British, under Colonel Scott, arrived on the field.

Both armies continued the conflict with unabated vigour long after darkness had covered the earth; nor did it cease until within an hour of midnight. During the darkness, many serious mistakes on both sides occurred; the British artillery was captured by Colonel Miller at the point of the bayonet, but soon restored to its proper guardians.

The numbers of troops engaged are stated as 1,600 British, and five guns, until nine at night; when two more guns and 1,200 men joined in such utter darkness, that friend and foe were mingled fatally in some instances.* The Americans had 5,000 of their best troops throughout the action, and nine guns. The 1,200 men, and two guns, had been nine hours on the march before they joined in the dark. This was, in fact, the most steadily hard fought action of the whole campaign in Upper Canada, as was proved by the excessive slaughter; by General Riall having been wounded and taken prisoner; by the British Commander, General Drummond, having been severely wounded; and by the American Generals, Brown and

* The Royal Scots 320 men, 89th Regiment; 41st light company; the Glengarry Regiment of Militia; 120 men of the 8th Regiment; and some Light Dragoons: being 815 Regulars and 785 Militia—total, 1,600 rank and file, with two 24-pounders, two 6-pounders, and a 5½-inch howitzer, at the commencement of the action; was joined at nine at night by the 103rd Regiment and detachments of the Royal Scots, 87th and 104th Regiments, and Militia with two 6-pounders—altogether 1,200 rank and file, including the 19th Light Dragoons.

Scott, having both been so disabled that the control of their force remained with General Ripley.

The Americans claim this as a victory,—it certainly was a strange one, for the British recaptured their artillery with two companies of the 41st under Captain Glew, who attacked their rear-guard whilst the British army remained on the field during the night, and General Ripley retired to his camp in the direction of Chippewa.

Ripley, unwilling however to lose the claim altogether, advanced against the British line early on the next morning, but was received with so serious an aspect that he thought fit to retreat to Fort Erie; which he fortified for a siege, and was replaced by General Gaines.

The battle-ground of Lundy's Lane is a favourite spot for American visitors to the Falls of Niagara. I lived in Slater's Inn, at Drummondville, just below the ground, on the Niagara road, for some time, in charge of the military reservation at the Falls, and used in my walks to see and hear most amusing scenes. A respected veteran of the battle, Major Leonard (who was then sheriff of the district), having had the misfortune to be burnt out of his house, which was built on part of the scene of action, lived for a time in the same inn; and from this worthy and excellent officer, who had been most severely wounded, I heard many piquant anecdotes of the battle.

He was riding one day over that part of the field where the beautiful chestnut lane from the Falls joins, or rather crosses, the road to Chippewa, when he met a party of American ladies and gentlemen, coming up

to see "the battle-ground,"—as they always call a place where an action was fought, and as many of the trees still retain evident marks of the conflict, and human bones occasionally come to light from the nature of the soil, which is a sandy loam; such visitors in general have plenty of topics of conversation at Lundy's Lane, independent of the never-failing theme of American glory and valour.

The sheriff, who looked every inch a soldier, was accosted accordingly with that easy familiarity which distinguishes our good brother Jonathan's intercourse with a stranger, when the said brother Jonathan has not made the tour of Europe.

"Well, mister, guess we are near the battle-ground?"

The Major bowed to the ladies, and pointed to Lundy's Lane.

"Do you live here?"

"I do," responded the veteran.

"Guess you can show us," says the male spokesman, "where we whipt the British?"

The gallant old officer was occasionally, particularly if his wound was troublesome, rather peppery, and his temper was now sorely tried, but ladies were in the case. He put spurs to his steed,—who most ungallantly, for an old charger, lifted his heels high in the air and treated the party in a most undignified manner (as if the animal was sensible of the extreme *gaucherie* of the speaker to an old soldier and his horse), and galloped off.

I remember another rather amusing story of Lundy's Lane. A young subaltern of artillery used to say that such was the awful confusion of the battle

in a dark night, that when the guns were taken off the field, he, being a little fellow, to prevent his being annihilated by the bayonets of friends as well as foes, crept under a large dock-leaf.

Instances of individual heroism and personal combat were numerous in this bloody action; which, considering the country and the very small armies engaged, was the nearest in approach to regular European warfare that took place in Canada,—bush-fighting behind trees being far more common than a regular and fair display of force to force in open field. Both armies, particularly the Militia, covered themselves with glory. I particularize the Militia, because this was the first fair and open field of the war, to which, of course, they were not so accustomed as the regulars.

The next action was an assault, on the 15th August, 1814, by General Drummond, of Fort Erie,—a strong redoubt or square, with stone barracks, capable of resisting a heavy fire; an outwork had been also erected on Snake Hill (a mound of sand which commanded the approach and landing to the westward), and this was connected with Fort Erie by a chain of entrenchments. General Drummond's army consisted of 3,150 men;* —the American garrison of 3,000, with three armed schooners.

Fort Erie is situated near the rocky edge of the Lake Erie, and was therefore assailable only on the land fronts,—which to the left were so strong by the

* 1st or Royal Scots, 8th, 41st, 89th, 100th, 103rd, and 104th Regiments; De Watteville's, Glengarry Light Infantry; Incorporated Militia, and a detachment of 19th Light Dragoons.

outwork of Snake Hill, as to render that side comparatively secure. The woods environed the Fort on the land fronts very closely.

Three storming-parties, under Lieutenant-colonels Vicker, Scott, and Drummond, were therefore ordered to carry the most attackable points of this front; the right, centre, and left of the position, on the night of the 15th. Generals Gaines, Ripley, Porter, and Miller, defended Fort Erie. The column of attack under Vicker, was twice repulsed by General Ripley's brigade. The column under Scott was also compelled to retreat.

The right column, under Drummond, advanced against the strongest part of the work itself, that to the left of the entrance, where there was an interior and exterior line of defence. The gallant band escaladed the exterior line amidst a tremendous fire; but were repulsed. They again stormed it, and again had to retire. A third time Drummond led them on, and he gained the exterior or chief bastion,—which he carried at the point of the bayonet.

The Americans, equally brave, made three successive charges from the interior bastion to dislodge him; and such was the confusion, that fighting actually took place in the interior of the fortress, and in the very barrack-rooms. The battle now raged, and the whole force of the garrison was turned against the right division; who would have triumphed, had not at the moment of victory,—whether by design or accident, has not yet appeared,—a wooden expense magazine exploded, and tearing open the works hurled the greatest portion of the storming-party into the

ditch. Just at this crisis, the brave Drummond fell pierced with balls.

The right division, or rather what remained of it, were severely handled by an enfilading battery as they retired; and thus ended the assault of Fort Erie, with a loss of 900 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, whilst the Americans covered by their entrenchments suffered much less.

I have carefully looked over the scene of action at leisure, and am not at all surprised at the result; the devastation committed by the explosion is ten times greater than has been represented, and the strength of the American line of field-works was admirable.

Colonel Drummond I had known almost from infancy, and a greater loss than his did not occur during the whole war—he was popular with all parties; and the Americans respected him so much for his gallantry, and the attention he showed those who fell into his power, that on one occasion, when the new clothing of his regiment, with a silver bugle he had ordered for his band, fell, by the capture of a store-ship, into their power, they sent him his bugle with a complimentary letter, although a Militia corps clothed itself in the regimentals.

I sought for information amongst the residents of Waterloo and Fort Erie,—who are however not very numerous, and amongst them were but few living who recollected the assault,—respecting the place of deposit of his remains. This is not now distinguishable from those of the other officers on both sides who fell; for a line of graves, about a quarter of a mile on the Waterloo side of Fort Erie, alone points out the slain,—

and these are fast disappearing. In fact, when I was there last, in 1845, nothing could be more melancholy than the aspect of Fort Erie, although it is very beautifully situated so as to command the first view of the great expanse of the Lake, of the opposite but distant shores of New York and Pennsylvania, the great city of Buffalo, and the mouth of the Clinton, or as it is very badly named, the Erie Canal, with a back-ground of rich and almost unbroken forest.

The lake incessantly washes the low, flat, but very rocky shore, on which you may walk over tables of those beautiful fossils peculiar to the series of rocks exhibited; the madrapores and corallines do not come within a hundred yards or so of the main body of the work, which exhibits the united effects of fire and explosion in its otherwise solid masonry, and in its heavy earthworks, having been blown up by the Americans. Desolation, in fact, reigned around; and the forest winds and the boom of the lake wave alone disturbed the silence which reigns over the last resting-places of Colonel Drummond and his brave officers.

General Drummond, after meeting this repulse, commenced the siege in earnest; and in a month afterwards completed his line of circumvallation at a distance of five hundred yards only from the Fort, and from water to water of the lake, whilst he placed his reserve and camp two miles in the rear, out of range.

General Brown, thus hemmed in, made a spirited *sortie* on the 17th of September, and stormed three batteries and two block-houses, spiked three cannon,

and destroyed the magazines, and then withdrew into his stronghold; not, however, without having lost 500 men, and General Ripley being wounded; whilst the British suffered severely, from the nature of the season, after a siege of fifty days, carried on in a swamp, amidst rain and storm, lake-fever and ague, in a Canadian autumn.

So greatly had the force been weakened by these causes, that General Drummond was reluctantly forced to raise the siege on the 21st of September, 1814, and fall back to Chippewa; and General Brown then blew up Fort Erie, and returned across the lake to winter-quarters.

A gallant defence of Fort Michilimackinac, by 190 men, regulars, Militia, and Indians, under Colonel M'Douall, in which the American fleet and a very large body of troops were gallantly repulsed, and some naval combats on Lake Erie, wherein their superior force was victorious, concluded the war in Upper Canada.

In Lower Canada we have chiefly to relate the melancholy and ill-conditioned failure upon Plattsburgh, undertaken by Sir George Prevost, who had been reinforced by the flower of that British army, whose banners were fresh from France, Portugal, and Spain, after the surrender of Paris, and the downfall of the greatest military despot of modern times.

Sir George Prevost, at the head of 11,000 picked men, invaded the United States by Lake Champlain, on the 11th September, 1814; and having reached Plattsburgh, the great arsenal on the Lower Canadian frontier, which was then defended by a

handful of men (about 1,500),—and what shall we say further? The British flotilla, under the brave Captain Downie, was captured,—whilst this fine army looked on, without being ordered to sweep General Macomb and his garrison into the lake. The American general, it is said by competent witnesses, when he found that his force was wholly inadequate to protect his strongly fortified post, in expectation of an assault which admitted of nothing on his part but unconditional surrender, sat on one of the heavy guns with which his position was bristled, and shed tears of rage and regret. His tears were soon turned to smiles,—for instead of a storming-party appearing, he heard the bugles of his enemy sounding a retreat. "Sic transit gloria mundi."

Thus ended the war in Canada: and it would be foreign to our purpose to notice all the circumstances in detail which obliged the American government, when it found that the capital had been taken, its commerce annihilated, disaffection in the Militia of the Northern States,—which was proved by a correspondence with a British general, who had been left to occupy a portion of the State of Maine; and, above all, the fact that Great Britain no longer had Europe to contend against, and that the mighty Napoleon was humbled.

I shall, however, in the succeeding chapter make some remarks upon the features of a war to which the Americans so confidently looked as the means of spreading Republicanism over the face of the whole of the Northern continent of the New World,—a design which commenced when England was distracted; and

had Napoleon's schemes for the subjugation of Europe not been so vast, and had he possessed naval enterprise and ardour, might have received fruition by his aid.

Had Napoleon been inclined to forego part of his gigantic attempts in the Old World, in order to turn the scale against England in the New, I do not however believe that the Americans would have been great gainers. Like King Stork, Buonaparte, in the event of serious disaster to the British interior continental Colonies, would have instantly grasped at American dominion,—would have insisted upon the restoration of the ancient French territories; and thus have rendered wars permanent, instead of temporary, in the transatlantic field for his ambition.

But I do not believe, that beyond a desire to harass and annoy his potent and indomitable foe, Napoleon ever cared much about either the government or the people of the United States. He had gone through the terrific ordeal of that Reign of Terror, and that Age of Reason which had sprung out of the Republicanism of La Fayette and Rochambeau's armies and fleets, when the Americans so reflectingly called the enemies of their Parent to their aid.

Napoleon could not wish to support his military throne—a throne based upon devoted and unwavering obedience to his dictates,—upon such principles as those which had guided the followers of Washington, whose democracy was of a very different nature from that which was reared upon it; and thus it is very likely if he had had the opportunity, he would have hesitated to fraternize with ultra-liberty and equality across the

Atlantic, or that he would have liked to have tried a second experiment in kingly destructiveness. The Golden Imperial Eagle would have been, in short, out of place in the same mew with his baldheaded and less dignified congener.

CHAPTER IV.

Military and political reasoning upon the American aggression and its consequences in Canada.

In order not to fatigue the general reader too much, I have been as concise as possible in tracing the events which occurred in the Canadas from the declaration by Mr. Pitt, in 1791, of their being integral provinces of the great British empire, until the final blow which American ambition received in 1812, 1813, and 1814, in its attempt to dismember these distant states from their allegiance, and to sink their importance as prominent dominions of a power, unequalled from the extent and strength of its territories and resources in the history of the world, into mere external and inferior states of an overgrown Republican Union.

But the perusal of the foregoing chapters will have prepared the politician and the military man for much which follows them, and will show the necessity of being constantly awake to the importance of the Canadas as the right arm of the monarchy. The Americans, as long as they continue under the control of Republican institutions,—which they certainly will during the generations now in existence,—must

always eagerly look forward to the period when Canada shall add another spangle or two to the already crowded national blazonry. France, almost republican under its Citizen King, never awoke from her dream of transatlantic colonization without the strong desire that she once more should extend her glory to the Canadian and Louisianian forests and lakes.

Russia,—that gigantic mistress of the Asian and European hordes,—has spread the wings of her Eagle till he has sailed across the Pacific, and his double beak and crown has already been seen and felt on the western shores of America. Thus encircled by ravenous eagles, waiting only to grasp the spoils of British wealth and renown in their talons, it is somewhat necessary that her guardian Lion should not for ever sink his nose between his paws, and drop the attribute of his nature,—vigilance,—into the continued torpor of a confident repose in the majesty of his strength and the generosity of his nature.

It will be observed, even by those not accustomed to reflect upon military or political operations, that Canada is open to attack from the United States by a force moving from Lake Champlain on the water communications and roads to Montreal in the St. Lawrence littoral; by the water communication and roads from that part of the state of New York bordering on the Kingston frontier as far as from Ogdensburgh to Oswego on the one side, and from Cornwall to Prescott, Gananoqui, and Presqu'ile on the other. Thirdly, by the whole Niagara frontier, along which the Erie Canal passes to Buffalo. Fourthly, from Detroit, or the narrow strait which

separates the western frontier of Canada from Ohio and Michigan.

The Americans made the attempt to subjugate Canada by advancing from the Detroit into the heart of the country surrounded by Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario (then almost a continuous forest), by a series of demonstrations on the thickly settled littoral of Ontario to the river Niagara, and by united attacks upon Montreal from the Ontario country, and from Lake Champlain. They were confident of the support of the French Canadians, of the disaffected emigrants in the Lower province, and from the whole body of settlers in Upper Canada.

Neither the Erie Canal, leading from New York by the Hudson to Oswego, on Lake Ontario, and Buffalo on Lake Erie, nor the railroad from Oswego to Albany then existed; and the roads generally from the interior of the United States to the Canadian frontier were little better than the by-paths in England,—they were, in fact, impassable after thaws or rains. The roads of Canada were, if possible, still worse, and canals or railways had not then been thought of there.

Now all is changed. Both England and America have the means of transporting large bodies of troops and any quantity of stores to their frontiers in the assailable portions, whilst steam-navigation on the great lakes has superseded the necessity of building three-deckers merely to overcome or outvie each other.

But one great lesson derived from the fruitless demonstrations made by Washington and his successors is, that Canada, with an open water frontier of

upwards of a thousand miles in extent, was held against all the available means brought against it on the part of the neighbouring Republic, by a mere handful of British troops, and by an agricultural population, who turned the reaping-hook and the ploughshare into swords and bayonets; reversing the scriptural indication, when their beloved country was threatened by a foe uncongenial to their habits,—personal, religious, or political.

No Englishman,—whose education has been carefully attended to in that best of schools, *at home*, and who has afterwards been enabled by extensive foreign travel to enlarge his ideas, and correct any tendency to narrow his views,—can look upon the American Republic without deep interest, or can by mere vulgar badinage pretend to depreciate its people because some of them adhere to the old puritanic and affected nasal twang and phraseology. The Americans are essentially a new people,—a people having ages before them to form a general character in out of the most discordant present materials. The old cavaliers of the South are as distinct from the new democrats of the North as the persevere-in-faith Puritan of the East, who does not disdain to manufacture wooden clocks and nutmegs, and to sanctify the end by the means, is from the reckless half-barbarian pioneer of the Far West, whose ambition is to clap his wings and crow like a cock, to swim and gorge his food like an alligator, and to fight somewhat in the horse fashion, tooth and nail, leg and foot.

The merchant of New York, absorbed in bill-broking and money-making, is not the same man as the educated proprietor of a family reaching to beyond

the settlement and conquest of New Amsterdam; nor is either of these races the same as the agricultural people who have overrun the vales of Wyoming, of Hudson, or the thousand picturesque champaigns between the Empire City and the borders of Lake Ontario; whilst the borderers on Lake Ontario are again as distinct from the New Yorkers as the Canadian lumberers are from the French noblesse of the ancient regime.

Every State of the Union, in fact, has a separate people, who distinguish each other by elegant appellations, of which a foreigner cannot at once observe either the origin or the drift;—Buckeyes and Yankees, and other equally euphonious cognomens, being very rife. The only wonder is, that such discordant materials remain so long in the bond of union; for the bands that tie the fasces must be weakened by the inequality of the materials, and the constant tendency to resist the pressure from within.

But although this is all obvious enough, still we cannot be deaf to the voice of reason, or blind to facts apparent as the daylight; and we must not allow national pride nor prejudice to suffer us to imagine that the Republicans of America have not within themselves the elements of an empire which bids fair to rival those of the Old World, when it shall be settled within limits a little more conformable to those in which the evidence of sacred and profane history has shown to us that all lasting empires must ever be contained. I shall endeavour to show the Canadian and the British public in this work, from the long reflections of twenty-one years' residence in or connection with

Canada, and the personal observations of a prominent command of the Militia during the troubles of 1837, 1838, and 1839, that it is as much the interest, the real interest, of the United States, as it is that of Great Britain,—of which Canada by Sir Robert Peel's declaration is now *"an integral part,"*—that an empire balancing the power of the republic against that of the limited monarchical institutions of Great Britain, should for ever be firmly seated in North America; and that it will be, I feel as firmly persuaded as I do that the dreams of American statesmen are as shadowy and unreal respecting the future, and baseless as the fabric of Shakspere's vision.

Great Britain has only to fix her Transatlantic dominion as firmly in the affections of her people, as she has already rendered it invulnerable by the mere force of her arms.* To combine both the force of opinion and affection, with the physical means at her disposal, she must not however neglect to put in practice those precautionary measures which were said to have been recommended in 1826 by the master-mind of the Duke of Wellington.

We have seen that in every invasion of Canada, the grand attempt at subjugation is always centered at Montreal for the Eastern division, whilst it is subdivided in the Western into several frontier points, the chief being Amherstburgh and Niagara.

Mackenzie, when he endeavoured to act the part of a general, recommended invariably similar demonstra-

* Lord Stanley declared in his place in Parliament as Minister for the Colonies, that this is the true secret of State by which to retain Canada.

tions for the invasion of both Canadas; and the American officers employed by the "*Patriots*," as they styled themselves, followed the plans of the American government in the war of 1812. Accordingly, the Patriot levies were made very nearly in the same sections of the United States as those in which all the generals, from Hull down to Harrison, concentrated their armies of invasion. Amherstburgh, the Niagara frontier, Kingston, and Montreal, were all threatened simultaneously, and no means spared to render the sympathizers' schemes effectual.

From having been sent out in 1826, as an officer of engineers, to assist in some of the details of a grand and most efficient scheme for the protection of the Canadas, I paid great attention to the subject; and having been employed in 1837, 1838, and 1839, as Commanding-officer of Engineers in Upper Canada, as well as in command of the Militia of the Midland districts, I enjoyed opportunities of consideration upon the defence of the Western frontier which may be deemed useful, particularly as the results of experience; and I feel firmly persuaded that if the views of his Grace the Duke of Wellington had been adopted in 1826, the disturbances of 1837 would never have taken place, the Boundary question would have been of less difficult settlement, and that, always prepared for war in Canada, peace would have been placed on a basis of much greater security than it even now rests upon. The fortification of Montreal Mountain, connected with the important fortress of Quebec, would have paralyzed the Lower Canadian agitators, whose principal dependence was upon the misguided *habitans* of the seignories

adjacent to Montreal, and the neighbouring banks of the Richelieu.

A very partial and unfinished part in the system of construction of the proposed defences of Kingston (that key of the Lakes) actually saved the only depôt of warlike stores and munitions in Upper Canada, and afforded a rallying-point and stronghold for the loyal Militia, which obliged the redoubtable Van Rensellaer, his mail-robbing coadjutor Bill Johnson, the hireling Von Schultz,* and all the other liberating generals, to avoid Kingston as they would an evident mine of gunpowder.

Had there been a fortress at the Short Hills, or any central part of the Niagara district, and the tower of Niagara in good order, with a small work at Amherstburgh, and a barrack in the centre of the London and Western district, as there is now, Navy Island, Point Pêlé, Sandwich, and Bois Blanc, would never have been dreamt of by Sutherland, Mackenzie, Brophy, or any other Corypheus of lawless mobs.

In short, to prevent American sympathy from taking root to the prejudice of Western Canada, it was found requisite by Lord Seaton to carry out part of the original plan, and a barrack was erected in the depth of the winter of 1838, amidst the stumps of forest-trees, in the position which Simcoe in 1791 had pointed out as the true site of the metropolis of Upper Canada, and the place where an effectual control would be held over the settlers who had crossed the frontier, with

* Von Schultz was the most skilful and brave of their leaders, but he was a Pole,—and a Pole should have been the last to have taken the pay of the enemies of England.

all their republican prejudices and feelings, to take possession of the most fertile inland portion of the province.

The tower and small work at Niagara was also put in order, the line of the Chippewa was well guarded by detachments stationed at the Falls of Niagara and Queenston, and in the West, Fort Malden or Amherstburgh was repaired, whilst beyond Kingston, on the weakest part of the frontier adjacent to Lower Canada, a tower was erected on the ruins of Fort Wellington or Prescott, which was, unfortunately, owing to the severity of the winter, not quite finished when Von Schultz made a serious demonstration against it; but finding that, even incomplete as it was, it was so well covered that he could have made no impression even against the few militiamen that were thrown into it, he passed by and shut himself up in a stone windmill about a mile and a half or so lower down the river, hoping to convert it into a temporary fortress, where he could rally the army of invaders, which he confidently expected the Americans would send across the St. Lawrence when once he had obtained a footing in Canada.

The Dockyard at Kingston, as well as all the fortifications in Upper Canada, excepting the citadel redoubt of Point Henry at Kingston, which was nearly completed, had, from the

"Canker of a calm world and a long peace,"

been suffered to go entirely to decay: in fact, the fortifications erected during the war of 1812 deserved their fate; for as they were originally constructed of earth-

work and timber, for the temporary purposes of that war, it would have been a wasteful expenditure of the public money to have kept patching them up from year to year. The error was in not dismantling them altogether, and substituting from year to year works of defence of a permanent nature, which had been recommended by the first general of the age; but money was scarce, and the concurrent opinions of all the military officers of high rank, who had served in or knew the Canadas, could not then be listened to by the Ministry, on account of the necessary expenditure which these works of defence, of which the Rideau Canal and the Citadel of Kingston were parts, and which had both absorbed so large a portion, would have entailed upon the nation. But has the nation been a gainer by that temporary fit of economy? Perhaps I shall be told that as an engineer-officer I was an unfit judge of the question, and am biassed by my professional habits. To this natural demurrer I have only to answer, that experience in the country has afforded me plenty of time to get rid of professional prejudices, and to argue unbiassedly on a broad national question like the present.

Has the nation gained or lost by the permanent system of defence for the Canadas not having been carried into effect? In my humble opinion it has lost, and that most terribly. The sum of a million sterling did not suffice to cover her expenditure, to support the honour and dignity of Great Britain against the sympathizing Americans of 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842, whilst it has taught the whole frontier of the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a lesson

which will not hereafter be lost sight of; and that lesson is that their Government is powerless internally, and that the popular will of any section of the Union, whether directed against the unoffending Canadians, the timid Mexicans, or the unfortunate red men of Florida and the West, is always superior to the power of the president, the senate, the congress, or the regular army and its generals.

Let us look back a little farther, and reflect upon some very natural suppositions which suggested themselves when the disturbances broke out simultaneously on the exposed frontier line of both provinces. Upper Canada having one lieutenant-colonel (who was an assistant adjutant-general), one captain of engineers, and four artillery-men at Toronto; one lieutenant-colonel of artillery, one adjutant of the same corps, and seven or eight gunners, and one major of engineers, and a subaltern of that corps at Kingston, composing the regular force to protect a country with an open frontier of a thousand miles; whilst in Lower Canada the Commander-in-chief had the disposal of only five regiments and five companies of artillery, all on the peace establishment, and dispersed at various garrisons.

Suppose, therefore, that instead of the pseudo-generals, Van Rensellaer, Sutherland, Dr. Nelson, William Lyon M'Kenzie, and Dr. Duncombe, there had been regularly-bred military leaders of the United States army, and a concerted plan of simultaneous operations directed against the weak and ungarrisoned passes of the frontier, with a large disposable force, instead of a band of sympathising felons and their rebel

friends, what must have been the consequences? They are self-evident. The country would have been laid waste, and for a time disaffection and conquest would have joined hands, and it would have cost treasure and blood to an extent which can scarcely be conceived, before the Flag of the Crosses would have again recovered its ancient and wonted supremacy.

CHAPTER V.

Condition of Canada from the Peace in 1815 to 1826, and first very marked Revolutionary symptoms towards 1837.

It is, no doubt, very tiresome for the general reader to trace the historical events of any well-known country, from its earliest date down to the more interesting epoch of our own days; but as everything must have a beginning as well as an end in sublunary affairs, so we shall continue a self-imposed task, in order the more clearly to introduce matter more germane to modern taste.

Canada, after the war of 1814, became gradually quiet; the sword was fashioned into the reaping-hook, and but few soldiers of the regular army were left in the Upper province, whilst Government turned its undivided attention there to the extension of settlement and of agricultural resources.

Lower Canada, from the domination of French and feudal laws and customs, offered but a poor field for the British emigrant at first; nor was it until after some years had elapsed that the capabilities of the soil in the Eastern townships, or, in other words, the terri-

tory bordering upon the United States, became known and appreciated.*

The tide of Canadian emigration for a long time after the peace of 1815 flowed constantly; therefore towards the Upper province, where the Lieutenant-governors Sir Peregrine Maitland, who assumed the administration in 1817, and Sir John Colborne (Lord Seaton), who succeeded him in 1828, and remained until 1836, were entirely occupied in perfecting the divisions of the country into townships and directing settlements, so as to afford advantageous positions for opening out the vast internal field of commerce which Upper Canada possesses, in forming projects for roads and canals, and in adventing the educational systems proposed for the different creeds and classes.

Their Governments may, therefore, be justly styled the most useful of any under which Upper Canada had been placed; and as I resided in that country during the whole time in which Sir John Colborne held the reins, and for more than a year whilst Sir Peregrine Maitland was at the head of affairs, I shall, without detailed reference to Lower Canada until the rebellion broke out there in 1837, proceed to analyze the circumstances which operated to produce a similar occurrence in the Upper province, after the way had been paved by Papineau in the Lower, until we arrive at the period when Lord Gosford was Governor-general, and Sir Francis Head Lieutenant-governor.

The first discontents in Lower Canada, or indeed any of consequence in either province after the peace

* The most picturesque and promising portion of Lower Canada, abounding in fine land, beautiful lakes, noble mountains, and vast forests.—EDITOR.

of Ghent, which was signed on the 24th of December, 1814, appeared soon after Sir Gordon Drummond assumed the administration in April, 1815; for until 1816, when Sir John Sherbrooke was appointed Governor-general, constant squabbling had occurred in the House of Assembly.

The principal cause of this premonitory symptom of future troubles was, that the House viewed the conduct and bearing of the Judges as highly inimical to their power and pretence, and accordingly they impeached the principal dignitaries of the law who presided over the Courts of Quebec and Montreal.

In the year 1818, despatches from the Colonial Minister, although meant to promote the interests of the Clergy, opened out a wide field for turmoil and petulance. Lord Bathurst,—in order probably to avoid the recurrence of the disputes about the Civil List, which had taken place in the time of Sir James Craig, from 1807 to 1811,—instructed the Governor-general to inform the House that the offer originally made of paying the entire Civil List of Lower Canada out of the provincial revenues, would be accepted.

The Governor, accordingly, foreseeing probably what soon followed, instead of demanding a permanent settlement of the question, contented himself with laying before the Assembly the items of expenditure required, and requested a sum to meet the current year.

The Assembly, eager to obtain power over the revenues, immediately granted his request; but cunningly reserved, to meet the Governor's scheme, the entire appropriation of the fresh taxes which it had been necessary to raise to meet the emergency.

The Duke of Richmond, who was sent out in 1818, most likely had separate instructions upon this long-argued and troublesome question, for we cannot otherwise account for the immediate collision which took place. His Grace determined not to give any detail of the Civil Service expenditure; and on the first occasion which presented itself he sent down a general estimate, stating only each head or division of expense, with merely the gross amount required for each department.

To this the Legislative Council assented, by disallowing the amended vote of the Lower House, wherein the detailed expenditure, down to the most minute item, was alone recognized.

The Duke of Richmond then took an extreme measure. He signified his displeasure to the House of Assembly for having refused the supply in the manner he required; and without condescending to enter into farther parley, drew upon the Treasurer (a Government officer) for the total sum required to meet the expenses of the Civil Government. This act fanned the slumbering flame—and henceforward the House of Assembly was a scene of continued conflict with the Government and with the upper branch of the Legislature.

The Duke, unhappily, was cut off suddenly by a melancholy fate, before he could develope his intentions; and although the commencement of his administration was stormy, yet there never was a Canadian Viceroy more beloved. The French, no doubt, hailed the *prestige* of his exalted rank, and his connection with the peerage of France, as he was Duc d'Aubigney by direct descent, in the female line, from the duchess

of that title, who had been invested with it by Louis Quatorze, the Grand Monarque.

The Earl of Dalhousie, an amiable nobleman and a very experienced officer, succeeded his Grace in 1820. The same perversity on the part of the Assembly met him at the outset of his Vice-royalty. The same collision again took place respecting the supply for the Civil List; and his Lordship imitated his predecessor, by drawing for the sums wanted upon the Treasurer or Receiver-general.

The Colonial-office was now really embarrassed; and Lord Bathurst, whilst he upheld the Governor, at the same time ordered that detailed economic estimates should be prepared, embracing the moneys to be paid out of the Crown revenues for the support of the Civil administration, and the other sums required for purely Colonial purposes. This met with temporary success; but in 1823, the Treasurer unfortunately became insolvent, and when the Government presented the usual Supply Bill, a serious debate occurred, in which a determination on the part of the Assembly was strongly manifested to deprive the Crown of all control over the revenues; and to such an extent was the assumed power of the representative branch of the Legislature carried, that the Governor-general thought it prudent to express himself strongly respecting this new feature of the contests.

His Lordship, in 1825, left his government in the hands of an Administrator, who yielded all the disputed points to the Lower House, and conceded to that body the absolute, or *de facto* right to appropriate both Crown and Colonial revenues, notwithstanding

the Imperial Act of 1774, which gave the disposal of the imperial duties on the import trade, and the casual and territorial fund on land sales, timber duties, licences, &c., to the King.

This again placed the Governor-general, in 1826, in more violent collision than ever with his Parliament. The Ministry of the day, however, supported him; and the claims of the Assembly to unite in its own body the three States of the realm, were firmly resisted. Thus the year 1826 reached its termination in Lower Canada; and we must now turn to the sister province, where from the peace of 1815 similar events, but not characterized by such evident tendencies, had been going on.

Responsible government (the leading feature of our day in Colonial politics) began now to rear its head, and to put forth its feelers in various forms; and when in 1816 the great expenses following the American aggression in Canada became the subject of financial discussions at home, the Ministry judged that the British Colonies in Continental America ought to bear some portion of the burthens of the mother country, by relieving it of the vast sums annually required to support the civil local administrations. To do this effectually, however, it does not appear to have been sufficiently foreseen that it would ultimately be requisite to abandon on the part of the Crown the legitimate control of its acknowledged revenues, and that by so doing, the Viceroys and Governors would be so much weakened in power, that they, in reality, would almost be at the beck of any set of demagogues who might have sense and firmness enough to harass them and sway the popular will.

In Upper Canada, where the population was small (not exceeding 160,000 at the termination of the war in 1815), matters were not likely to assume for some time so serious an aspect, particularly as most of the settlers were of British descent, as they did in Lower Canada, with a population of nearly half a million of French extraction, and of a creed comparatively but little known in the sister colony. Accordingly we find, that although there was every desire to attempt to disturb the constitution, yet the Lieutenant-governors were able for a long time to put down factious discontent.

Sir Peregrine Maitland (a distinguished general officer, who had married a sister of the Duke of Richmond) was appointed Lieutenant-governor on the 13th of August, 1818. He found the Colony slowly recovering from the disasters of the war, and he had to direct his attention to some growing symptoms of trouble, on the part of the American settlers who had remained in the province, or had *squatted*, as the familiar term is, without permission on its fertile lands. These people generally, for there were several honourable exceptions, held the most violent republican principles; and in the capacity of farmers, itinerant preachers, travelling pedlars, and, in short, under every guise, poured their venom into the ears of the unsuspecting yeomen and labourers of British parentage.

To crown all this, just before Sir Peregrine assumed the government, Mr. Gourlay, a gentleman who appears to have been tolerably well educated, visited the province, and disseminated some very ultra opinions.

He was accused of having been concerned in the celebrated treasonable practices in England, in Spa-fields. That he was a loyal subject, and totally unconnected with Cobbett and Hunt at that time, has been proved to the satisfaction of every reasonable man; but that he was an enthusiast, whose political feelings were at the mercy of his private judgment, is equally well substantiated, and the mischief he did, afterwards involved the province in disasters from which it has not yet recovered, is equally capable of proof; although it must be admitted that his designs were by no means directed against the Royal authority. He set his unsupported doctrines and feelings against the whole power of the Canadian Government; and although every reasonable man will admit that the Lieutenant-governor was too amiable a person to have launched the thunders of his authority against a man without means, and whose brains were not in the best possible order, yet he contrived to array against him all the Government officers by his unsparing and somewhat wicked personal abuse.

I recollect perfectly, long after this man had been imprisoned and banished the province, and that his very name was almost forgotten by those who had been prominent in visiting his political sins, that he had supporters who had been trained in his school, and that in the autumn (or, as it is called in Canada, *the fall*) of 1826, the Government had been pestered by a disciple, who forgetting that he was solely indebted to the King for his half-pay pension, had arrayed a large portion of the House of Assembly in opposition to the interests of the Crown. This

person, now no more, belonged to the same service as myself, but not indeed to the same corps, but to one very nearly allied to it, and it was not until a brother officer had been sent to reason with him upon the madness and folly of his proceeding that he was quieted. Gourlay commenced by a series of questions, apparently of a very useful nature, addressed chiefly to the yeomanry of the country, which had the ostensible appearance of obtaining statistical information. In this he succeeded beyond his expectations; and the consequence was, that (divested of its political trash) he produced three volumes of information respecting Upper Canada, which may yet be cited as the text-book on all that relates to that country. But they are so mixed up with descants upon the Poor-laws of England, and smell so strongly of the midnight oil which had served Cartwright, Cobbett, and Hunt, that it requires infinite labour in their perusal to fan the chaff from the really valuable grain. His first serious attempt to disturb the Colony after he had procured his statistical data, was that of forming a convention and a delegation to the Home Government. The great mistake which Gourlay, as well as all the Colonial agitators who have succeeded him, committed, consisted in viewing the officials and the moneyed aristocracy of the province as if they were part and parcel of the Colonial-office at home.

In all the Britiah Colonies there are two parties who are now technically styled Tories and Radicals. There is, however, in these designations nothing so false, no position in real politics so untenable as the close comparison with the Tories and the Radicals of

England. It is the height of folly to suppose that the Colonial minister identifies himself, be he Tory or be he Whig, with Colonial officials. The real interest of his office consists in directing the engine of power to benefit the distant realms over which he presides; and although he may occasionally permit himself to be biassed by strong party representations, yet I will venture to affirm that there has been no instance, since the eventful year 1791, in which a Colonial minister has ever had but one real view,—that of benefiting the vast countries under his control.

Human nature, or as the clever author of a well-known work styles it, "*human natur*," is human nature everywhere; and all the farthing calculators that ever existed from the time of Tubal Cain will ever manufacture an imitation of the gold of Reason from the sounding-brass of Folly.

What has a Colonial minister to gain by subverting a well-regulated and time-tried course of policy, which upholds the established order of things?

Did Oliver Cromwell, when he set his broad vulgar foot upon the ensigns of royalty, dream of making a trooper of his Ironsides equal to himself?—Did he not rather aim at making himself a greater man than the unfortunate and amiable being whom he murdered? Did the little officer of artillery, when he sent his devoted brother to rescue him from the daggers of the Constituent Assembly, dream of suffering the guillotine to descend upon his own neck, that he might die as a remembered victim in the abolition of royalty? Did Julius Cæsar when he refused the crown which was to cover his bald head, think that by so doing

he would reduce himself to the level of the unwashed artizan, who shouted and threw his greasy cap up at this trick of state? Or, to descend in the scale, did the leaders of the Cato-street gang (a locality so well selected) fancy, that if they succeeded, they were to be debased to the kennel? Or did Mackenzie imagine that he would be a less distinguished person than President of the Canadian Republic, when he drew up his forces behind Toronto?

Human nature answers to all and to every case, No! Such were the secret springs of the conduct of Gourlay. Well connected in Scotland, his restless disposition, unbalanced by a regulated mind, held out prospects of advancement in an untried Colony to an adventurer whose fortunes at home were in ruin.

In all young countries politics are in the extreme; and the smaller the society the greater the excitement, is an axiom as trite and as capable of demonstration as the 47th of Euclid. It requires ages of reason to pass either the *Pons Asinorum*, or that slender, sublime and narrow bridge of Mahomet's vision, without losing the balance; which preserved, leads into the straight path,—and lost, plunges the traveller into the hell of anarchy.

The chief complaint, however, which disturbed the repose of the Upper province was the favouritism shown in land granting; and all their grievances having at length been examined in 1828, by Lord Goderich, quiet would have been restored, if Mackenzie treading in the steps of Gourlay, but apparently also entertaining views of joining the American Union, had not commenced a serious agitation.

CHAPTER VI.

State of Upper Canada from 1826 until towards the end of the year 1837, when the first disturbances occurred.

I SHALL devote this chapter more especially to the state of Upper Canada from the year 1826, until just before the outbreak of the disturbances at the close of 1837; because having resided in that country all that time, I am better able to develope the circumstances which led to that lamentably foolish attempt to subvert the British power there.

Sir John Colborne (now Lord Seaton), on assuming the Lieutenant-governorship on the 5th November, 1828, found that he was likely to have a much more unquiet reign than that of his predecessor; but still the cancer of revolt was only secretly gnawing into the vitals of the land, and did not evince its insidious gathering, with marked and incurable features until 1834; when Mackenzie, Duncombe, Rolph, and Bidwell, scarcely made any secret of their preference to the American form of government, and their desire to throw off for ever all connection with Great Britain.

Mackenzie, originally in business in Scotland, owing to want of success there emigrated to Upper Canada.

He began his career as shopman to one of the most violent opponents of the British connection in Upper Canada, and afterwards set up a press, in which at first he appeared to advocate Tory principles, and even went so far as to recommend the revival of Mr. Pitt's proposed order of Colonial nobility; but he soon altered his views, and expressed sentiments entirely different.

Mackenzie, not succeeding with his writings, was about to emigrate to the States, when some young and thoughtless gentlemen, having taken offence at something he had written regarding a friend, took the law into their own hands, and forcing themselves into his office, destroyed the press. Trials of course took place; the youths who committed so unwarrantable an assault were found guilty, and Mackenzie, instead of crossing the lines, remained at Little York.

Some years ago an able pamphlet, on the "State of the Canadas and the other Transatlantic Colonies of Great Britain," was given to the public from the pen of a well-qualified writer, who has since made his name better known in administering the principles of the Constitution in more than one British province.* In that production, which was eagerly read, and contained sound information, many new features in the relative position of England and her Colonies were developed, and first induced the Author of this work to think upon the subject of Colonial policy. Although the writer of this work has many disadvantages to labour under in following the path of his able predecessor,

* Sir James Carmichael-Smyth, Bart., Colonel Royal Engineers and Major-General in the Army, C.B., K.M.T., K.S.W., who died Governor of Demerara lately.

and not pretending to comparison with him either in style or in mental resources, he has the advantage of a long residence in the country he treats of, in affording the statesman and the politician assistance in their endeavours to obtain a more intimate knowledge of persons and of matters, which have been thus acquired, and which indeed forms the Author's principal claim to be impartially considered.

UPPER CANADA IN 1837.

POPULATION.

This extensive country contained, according to the best sources of information, in 1837, a population of 500,000 souls. The census of 1835 giving 338,000; and as this census was acknowledged to be imperfect, and a great increase in the number of emigrants took place shortly afterwards, it is probable the amount we have stated approximated the nearest to the truth.

In 1806, the population was only 70,000; and in 1826, it had not reached to double that number,—so that during the next ten years it nearly trebled itself, and in 1834 and 1835 the quantity of capital brought into the province by the better class of emigrants had been immense.

Since the year 1827, it appears that 145,000 emigrants arrived from the Old World at Quebec; and in one year alone (1832) there were 40,000 who proceeded to Upper Canada, and who brought half a million sterling in gold with them. The new settlers of sub-

stance were chiefly to be found in the Western districts; to which the Government, from the great extent of vulnerable frontier there, had directed their steps.

The wild lands to the rear of Lake Ontario, and the fertile district of Newcastle, with the townships of Caradoc, Adelaide, Warwick, and Plympton, in London and Oro, Rama, Orillia and Medonte, in the Home district, were rapidly settled by the poorer classes, who were judiciously intermixed with a large body of military and naval retired officers. Attempts were made by the inhabitants of the Midland district to open the wild lands in the back-part of that division of the province to settlers; and excepting on the rocky ridge in the neighbourhood of Frontenac, no part of the country is more worthy of attention; particularly in the vast region of wilderness at the back of the Bay of Quinté, whose shores are cultivated by the earliest settlers in the country, and exhibit an appearance of riches and comfort that must convince the emigrant that he will hereafter have a ready market in the towns and villages springing up there for the produce of his labour.

It is surprising how long the Midland district was neglected by the Emigrant Directors, and how long its people slumbered in pushing forward its interests; a canal of a mile or two in extent, in a most favourable locality, would afford a lake coast for the whole front of that district, and a safe and uninterrupted passage for the steamboats,—on which, in Lake Ontario, as elsewhere in the New World, population and commerce so mainly depend.

MILITIA FORCE.

Connected with the population and government of a country, the militia force is of paramount importance; and in Upper Canada, where, during the late war, undertaken by a powerful neighbour to obtain possession of the country, it displayed such valour and firmness that it saved the province, it more than merits notice here. The effective Militia was returned in the latest rolls in 1837, as exceeding 36,000 rank and file, and consisted of 72 regiments of infantry, 5 organized companies of artillery, and 18 squadrons of cavalry.

In 1826, this force was officially returned as being nearly equal in amount to what it was in 1837, when the population was only 160,000; and as it is well known that the old militia system was on a very indifferent footing, it may be fairly premised that the male population capable of bearing arms in Upper Canada was nearly double that of the official roster of 1837, or that it then amounted to between 60 and 70,000 men,* for in the other portions of British North America, one-sixth of the number of inhabitants was calculated upon as forming the probable amount of an efficient levy, and a sixth was actually enrolled in some of the other provinces, and found capable of performing the duties of militiamen.

In Upper Canada this force could not be said to be efficient, as it was not armed, drilled, nor disciplined. The artillery had no guns, and, with the exception of

* As was proved in 1838.

some few rifle companies, the infantry had no muskets. Yet they were a fine body of men, and the cavalry were all well mounted and equipped; the artillery, well exercised by the regular gunners, and the infantry, from their woodland habits, were generally used to and dexterous in the management of the firelock and rifle.* They are liable to serve by law, from the age of sixteen to fifty in peace,—which is extended to sixty in war; but the late Lieutenant-governor Sir John Colborne dispensed with the appearance at muster of the men who were under nineteen years of age and over forty, which perhaps will account for the seeming discrepancy in the amount of the Militia rosters for the years from 1826 to 1837. As the law existed, this force was not required to muster more than twice a year; and unless in particular cases only once,—on the birthday of George III., the 4th of June, which is called the training-day, and even then they did little more than answer to their names, or pay a small fine for absence. Some of the young men, however, assembled oftener; and as there were many opportunities, from the numbers of old soldiers in their ranks, they performed voluntary drills, at the discretion of their Colonels.

RESOURCES.

"The fertility of the soil, the mildness of its climate, and the luxuriance of its vegetation must unquestionably render Upper Canada, and with rapidity, a province of the greatest importance."

* When afterwards embodied and drilled by regular officers, in 1838, there was not a finer Militia in the world.

Thus wrote the author I have mentioned, in the preface to his work, in 1826.

In ten years the population nearly trebled itself; and in one town alone, Toronto, formerly called, in derision, Little York, the inhabitants advanced from 1,000 or 2,000 to nearly 15,000. Manufactures occupied but a slender portion of the exertions of the people of Upper Canada.

By the accounts for 1834, we find that in the whole of the townships there were 5,133,335 acres of surveyed land, 1,003,520 of which were under cultivation, and fed 178,689 horned cattle, and 42,822 agricultural horses. The number of sheep I have not been able to ascertain; but both mutton and beef were supplied at the chief towns Toronto and Kingston from the United States; and it was not until 1836 that the farmer had thought of his stock coming into a home market, on any extensive system.

Wool was not an article of importance, being chiefly used in domestic manufactures of a coarse kind; although there were, and are, some cloth-factories in existence, which, however, are now competing with the home market.

As may readily be imagined in a new and a very fertile country, which requires immense exertions of human labour to destroy the superabundance of dense forest, the principal articles of commercial value in Upper Canada were lumber (under which head may be classed timber of all descriptions, but chiefly from the pine, oak staves, &c.), wheat, flour, the rectified ashes of the hard and soft woods, peas, *peltries*,—under which head all known Canadian furs may be classed,—

salted pork and beef; and it was hoped that tobacco, flax, and hemp would soon be added; and no doubt the great mineral wealth of the country, in iron, lead, and copper, will prove a valuable source of revenue and employment, as these ores are now frequently discovered in the unsettled regions.*

The Western district being in a lower latitude than the other districts of Upper Canada, and also being in the close vicinity of the Great Lakes, has a milder and more uniform climate than the other portions, and is therefore better adapted for the production of tobacco and flax. Wheat seems to thrive well in all parts of the province, and, with timber or lumber, flour, and potash, forms the present staples.

There are several trees and shrubs in this country from which cotton of a coarse quality might be manufactured.

If the farmers can once be brought to turn their attention to the rearing of stock, no doubt that a considerable source of wealth would accrue from tallow and hides, as these articles appear very superior here, owing to the goodness and quality of the pasturage; which, however, is not so much improved as it might be, with very little trouble, in so fertile a soil.

In the neighbourhood of Toronto, and the larger towns and villages, the farmers were too much engrossed in politics to turn the natural advantages of their farms to account; and as long as a system of agitation, which pays the agitators well, can be kept up, it is in vain to look for any amelioration in this respect, as the farms are internally rich enough to

* Copper being now extensively mined on Lakes Huron and Superior.—EDITOR.

support their owners comfortably, and money being very scarce and therefore not sought after by them, they can devote a great portion of their time to that natural bias which all men of British descent have towards political argument.

The amount of population and the natural resources of the country having now been summarily explained, we shall proceed to examine into the revenue and its sources, and then enter into an analysis of the political aspect of Upper Canada before the rebellion.

REVENUE.

The revenue of Upper Canada was, as might be conjectured, trifling, and was divided into

Provincial .	£302,126	including loans,
Crown . .	33,271	
Clergy . .	7,371	
	£342,768	

which is the official amount for 1834, and is contrasted in expenditure as follows:

Provincial . .	277,562	including payment of loans,
Crown . .	29,000	
Clergy . .	6,846	
	£313,408	

leaving a balance in favour of the Province in that year of £29,360.

The provincial revenue was derived from a variety of sources, amongst which was very prominent the amount paid by Lower Canada as a share of the duties levied on goods entering the St. Lawrence, the imposts of foreign products coming from the United

States, and the few and trifling taxes on wild lands, taverns and shops, hawkers, pedlars, &c.

The casual and territorial revenue arose from the sale of Crown Lands principally, and the Church revenue from that of lands set apart for the support of the Protestant clergy.

There was no direct provincial tax, all the small taxes laid on in the districts were expended in the several districts; the Court of Quarter Sessions having been the assessor, at certain rates on fixed and moveable property in the district, according to a scale already decided by law.

Possessing an annual income, scarcely so large as that of a private gentleman in England, and quite inadequate without resorting to onerous loans for the direction of the public enterprise and energy in the construction of roads, bridges, railways, and canals, this country, which was not burthened with poor's-rates or poll-tax, tithes or parish-cess, was unfairly compared with the older and more flourishing States from which it is divided by the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. There taxation yielded the means of undertaking all their public works on a large scale, combined with the spirited system of loans which there constituted the *vis vitæ* of enterprise, and which can be more safely resorted to in a densely settled and increasing community, possessed of so large a field of resources as its own back settlements afforded.

There were even no road-taxes in Upper Canada. Every person on the Assessment Roll was required to perform, according to his means thereon exemplified, from three to five days' statute labour in the year; and

so impartially was this law administered, that in the cities and towns where military officers were quartered, if they hired a private house, they were as duly summoned to appear, with spade, pickaxe, and shovel, as the poorest artizan or labourer inhabiting a cabin does. This of course, in like cases, and in cases of the infirm, or those who do not choose to labour in person, was easily commuted by hiring a labourer for about, on the usual average, half a dollar a day. Snch a system, however, did not work well, and we shall revert to it again.

The turnpike method had latterly been tried at Toronto. Money had been advanced for Macadamization, by the Provincial Assembly, and repaid by tolls taken for the first time in Upper Canada. It had answered well; but the expense of constructing these roads, where stone, except in scattered boulders, was not to be had, was enormous.

In Gourlay's work, in three octavo volumes, published in 1822, there is contained a great mass of valuable information, but which, like that occasionally elicited by the equally violent Mackenzie, was so wrapt up in personal altercation and dispute that it required much patience and a real desire to be acquainted with everything relating to this fine country, to enter into the examination of such an Augean task. Men of education and honourable minds generally shrunk from it; but as we determined to afford all the information which could be obtained, we actually read Gourlay's three volumes, Mackenzie's "Account of Canada," and the "Grievance Book," by the same restless author. Gourlay, who was a clever but a flighty man, says, in

his first volume of the "Statistics of Upper Canada," p. 223, that

"No country in the world, perhaps, is less burdened with taxes. In no other country is the produce of labour left to the labourer's own use and benefit, more undiminished by public exactions or deductions in favour of landlords and other private persons; and it may with great truth and propriety be added, that the objects of labour, especially of agricultural labour, the most useful of all, are nowhere more abundant, in proportion to the quantum of labour expended on them.—How then," he further observes in a note, (for we believe the original passage was not written by him,)—"how then comes it that Upper Canada, with all these benefits, and whose settlement began ten years before that of the country running parallel with it, is now ten years behind that country in improvement, and its wild land selling in the market at a third of the price which similar lands fetch in the United States?"

The answer is plain,—that, although Upper Canada did begin its settlement ten years before the Michigan or Ohio territory,—for Mr. Gourlay can scarcely allude soberly to that of the State of New York or Pennsylvania,—yet it was very long, from the effects of the revolutionary struggle, before it showed the least symptom of advance; and indeed it had not shown any decided features of the kind until within the years 1826 to 1837, in consequence of the neglect it experienced during the gigantic efforts made by Britain to shake off the trammels in which France and her former colonies were so desirous of securing her humiliation.

The want of the precious metals; of an established system of equitable loans, under which, of course, may be included equitable banking; the absolute want of a necessity for large public works until very recently; the contented firesides of the untaxed farmers; and the high price of wages to labourers and artisans, with the facility of obtaining land, which threw it into the hands of speculators; may be assigned as the reasons why the sober emigrant from Britain, or from Germany, did not trouble his head much about roads or canals, railways or grievances.

What would Gourlay have said in 1837, if he applied for wild land here, to find that instead of being only one-third of the price set upon it by the Government of the United States, it had risen to three times that arbitrary value?

What would he have said if he had found that in that city of which he was only a village inhabitant, land was as dear as it was in the best parts of London, and that some Government wild common sold there in 1837, to willing purchasers, at five and six hundred pounds an acre?

Mackenzie, in 1836, makes it a grievance fit to overthrow the stability of Britain, that the Crown-lands in Upper Canada fetched from ten to fifteeen and twenty shillings an acre; whilst Gourlay, in 1822, predicted the ruin of Canada, or its separation from England, because they were not worth a third of those sums.

POLITICAL RELATIONS IN 1837.

Having briefly touched (as a sort of introductory matter to this important division of our labours) on

the Population, Resources, Commerce, and Revenue of the province, in order that a general idea, within the smallest possible limits, may be formed by strangers, of this country, I shall now enter at once on the wide and perplexed field of Canadian politics, showing, as well as I am able, what the real state of the country was in 1837, the abuses requiring remedy, and the actual value of the *grievances* complained of,—a term adopted by Canadian Reformers, which has a very uncertain acceptation, neither meaning the dread which a schoolboy entertains of correction, nor tyrannic opposition to the views of the revolutionists, but something between both; a sort of raw-head-and-bloody-bones, which was set up in the market-place to frighten poor John Bull into a surrender of his dearest rights.

Upper Canada was, in 1837, convulsed by the contentions of three distinct parties. The Tories, or original office-holders and settlers; most of whom are the descendants of persons who, imbued either with actual veneration for the British constitution, or by a desire to better their condition, left the ancient Colonies as soon as those Colonies had succeeded in separation.

They were called in this country, "The Old Family Party," not from any claims which they possessed to hereditary honours, but from the intermarriages and enlinking of office which they had effected. From holding almost all the best official situations, and from their large possessions in land given to them when that land was valueless, they constituted the most apparently wealthy portion of the community, but yet not the moneyed interest,—for such an interest is

unknown here, as there are no persons possessed of capital in the English sense of the word, land not being yet sufficiently available to create it, and most of the great mercantile transactions were carried on by barter.

The second party might be denominated the Whig, or Conservative Whig, and was much more numerous than the former, embracing most persons of the liberal professions; the British settlers of almost every description, and the possessors of property acquired by their own means or labour, amongst whom were the great mass of the farmers, who were either themselves United Empire Loyalists (U. E.'s, as they are styled here), or are the descendants of those who were driven from the States on the declaration of Independence, and had their property there confiscated on account of their adhesion to the Royal cause.

The third partizan phalanx was the Radicals, revolutionary or destructive. This was composed of all the American settlers and speculators in land, some of the more simple and ignorant of the older class of farmers, and the rabble of adventurers who poured in every year from the United States or from Britain, to evade the laws of their respective countries. It was a much more numerous host than the Tories, and nearly equalled the Conservative Whigs, whilst many of its American members were persons of great shrewdness, though there was very little real talent, excepting in a few of the leaders, to be found in its ranks.

The Tory, or Old Family Party, struggled to maintain their own personal sway in the Colony,—which until the period that Sir John Colborne assumed the

reins of government, was supposed, very erroneously, to rule without control over every corner of the land.

The Tories were loud, vehement, and open in their declarations,—as was observed in the Editorial articles of the Tory papers of Upper Canada, and in which the acts of the Government, whenever they were checked, were declaimed against; and the Tory leaders personally and lavishly flattering the High Tory party, held a strong position from their unquestionable and devoted loyalty.

The Whig Conservatives, with whom was the great and powerful body (as far at least as physical force was concerned) of the labouring Irish (Catholic and Protestant), and of the small farmers, who had of late years emigrated from Britain, as well as a great portion of the British gentlemen, professional and agricultural throughout the province,* struggled to uphold the British constitution unimpaired, and the connection with the parent state unbroken.

They said openly, that they desired a thorough reform of abuses; that office should be open to all men of talent and honour; that the family influence should cease to operate; and that the province should have Montreal as its seaport.

The Radicals, Revolutionists, or Destructives, had only one ulterior object in view,—and that was the accession to power and place of their leaders, by Upper Canada becoming one of the integral portions of the United States.

* It is a curious and not uninteresting circumstance, that the loyal Whigs numbered in their ranks the great body of people of colour in the province, and all the French Canadians.

This was no false nor prejudiced view of their object and aim. I have conversed with several influential men in their ranks, and they thought with Mr. Joseph Hume, that it was time that "the baneful domination of England over her Colonies should cease;" whereby, should such an event occur, that worthy calculator would require to exercise more arithmetical acumen than ever belonged either to Cocker or to himself, to prove that Great Britain would not rapidly sink into comparative insignificance; and his descendants would then bless their progenitor for the wisdom with which he had consummated their ruin. "Ships, colonies and commerce," was the gubernatorial creed of a much greater man than Joseph Hume; and what would our beloved country be without them? why a small island, torn by internal faction, and unable even to keep the Northern wolf from the door.

Where would be your nursery for your seamen, if you part with the Canadas?—for if you part with Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would soon be lost: Newfoundland would follow; and your West India possessions would then struggle to throw off their allegiance,—as all small states are of opinion, like children on the verge of manhood, that their relative importance is immense, and that they are fully capable of wielding alone the sceptre of the world; to prove which common-place axiom, we have only to look to Upper Canada; where, with a population not much above that of a first-rate British city, scattered over an immense and almost unbroken forest, without roads, and with an annual capital equal only to that of a rich English gentleman, some of her inhabitants desired to

try the experiment of self-goverment, and to defy that power which occupies the highest and most palmy state in the most interesting era of the history of nations.

Proceeding, as I do, thus systematically to acquaint the British reader with the state of things in Upper Canada, just prior to the outbreak, I shall, having given him an outline of the parties, also proceed to examine into the complaints, or grievances as they are styled, which caused the partizans of Mr. Hume to wish for separation from the mother country, at a period when the beaver* had scarcely even thought of cutting down the trees which were to form the bulwarks against the prowess of the lion.

COMPLAINTS OR GRIEVANCES.

These are enumerated in a thick octavo volume, written by William Lyon Mackenzie,—who having been a small shopkeeper and then agitator and an orator by profession, found it at last most conducive to his pecuniary interests to undertake the special management of the political consciences of the really worthy farmers in the neighbourhood of Toronto, leaving Kingston to Barnabas Bidwell, and Vincent.†

I do not intend to state a word in this exposé of the affairs of Upper Canada which is not capable of demonstration, nor am I biassed by any personal or political feelings, and shall therefore, without any

* The emblem of Canada.

† The father of Mr. Bidwell, who expatriated himself from the United States, where his prospects were bright. Mr. Vincent was the Editor of a second or third-rate Radical newspaper.

other reference to any individual, merely state his known circumstances and his political character, if he chance to come across my recollection, as being an active political leader; for such persons are public property, and tell tales which sometimes deafens in the delivering of their own trumpetings.

The history of this "Grievance-Book" is interesting, inasmuch as it opens up a source whereby to judge of its author and his party. For many years before it was published, the author was connected with the public press, as proprietor and editor of a Colonial newspaper, called the *Advocate*. In this paper, during the early part of the administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, when the "family" or the High Tory party were said by the Radicals to have ruled supreme, Mackenzie thought he could not promote his own interests better than by bepraising Sir Peregrine, who, having married Lady Sarah Lennox, was connected with some of the first families in Britain. He even went so far as to propose, in his columns, that the prerogative of the King, secured by the capitulation of Canada, should be forthwith exerted, and that an order of peerage and knighthood for Upper Canada should be created. Circumstances had, however, involved him with some of the members of the old family domination, and constitutional irritability had caused him to attack them in his columns. The Whigs took his part, when his printing-office was attacked; the American faction, then increasing, lent him redoubled assistance; the Law Courts decided in his favour, and he came once more before the public in another character. The *Advocate* office was re-opened; he turned his whole force

against Sir Peregrine, to please the new subscribers. But still it did not pay well,—for in this country such was the scarcity of ready money, that fuel, beef, pork, flour, and even ashes, were taken in liquidation of newspaper debts, and the editors of many journals lived really by barter.

When Sir John Colborne assumed the reins of government, and the Family Party experienced a check, a new system of politics was pervading the Colony, and Reformers were increasing in numbers and in violence. Mackenzie was several times elected a member of the House of Assembly from that body, for his personalities; but on one occasion he so far forgot the respect due to his own character as a representative of the people, and the solemnity of the proceedings which he was entrusted by them to assist in, as to pull off his coat and vituperate his opponents in his shirt-sleeves. Yet he found all this profitable;—it suited the ideas of that class of republicans who migrated to Canada, because they found that even in their own country a better order of things had gained ground.

Sir John, although he probably differed in some views with the Family Party, was too high-minded to permit that they should be insulted in his presence; and therefore Mackenzie, during the whole period of his being a member of the House of Assembly, was never asked to the frequent dinner-parties, from which no other member was excluded, at Government-house. Nor could Sir John act otherwise; for this violent man had on one occasion collected a mob and carried a petition to that Government-house, from which he had never been excluded when on business

of any kind, and fancying he should frighten the man who, the United Service Journal so justly said, was *one of the most splendid soldiers of Europe,* gave him fifteen minutes to consider whether he would grant the prayer of the petition or no. The result might have been anticipated. The General who had so mainly assisted in defeating the utmost efforts of Napoleon, was not likely to have his nerves shaken by such a demand. But the passions of the populace were excited,—and Mackenzie again came into the Provincial Parliament in 1834, on their shoulders; whilst the Government found itself on every question, for the first time in the history of the Colony, in a decided minority.

It will be the painful duty of the future historian, in tracing the causes of this event, to find that the prominent feature which characterized the elections for the capital especially, in addition to the active partizanship of the revolutionary party, was the interference of several Government salaried officers at the hustings and in the previous canvassing, and which, contrary to all known practice and precedent, was so much exerted to deteriorate the Government influence, that it was found absolutely necessary, by all the well-affected officials, to endeavour to render nugatory such unusual interference, when otherwise those very officials, from motives of political and personal delicacy, would have abstained from tendering their own votes.

Combined with this unhappy state of things, a visible lukewarmness appeared amongst some of those influential persons who, owing everything to the British Government and the protection of its institutions,

might have set an example which would possibly have led to different results.

Mackenzie, now firmly seated, ostensibly gave up the publication of his political Journal to the management of an individual, whose name and character we should blush to record, as in connection with it we should be forced to relate the history of a desecrated altar, and a reckless disregard for all those feelings of our nature, which, innately stamped upon man, enable him alone by cherishing, to pass current in society.

Having now in some measure got rid of the onerous task of conducting this Journal, Mackenzie found himself free to occupy his time wholly in politics, and in the collection of that mass of matter of which "The Grievance-Book" was composed. He now procured, at the very close of the Session, and in a thin House, a vote to enable the new editor of the newspaper to have the sole printing of 2,000 copies of the "Seventh Grievance Report," and of some Parliamentary statements connected therewith; there being neither disposition nor time on the part of the House, so close to the period of its prorogation, to read over these voluminous Parliamentary documents, the opportunity was seized of creating a thick octavo volume, which he made the vehicle of his own peculiar sentiments for the public eye.

The book, however, was so loosely put together,—so great a portion of it by clever management was put into index and into irrelevant matter, that it did not make that violent effervescence in the public mind which the timid and unthinking imagined that it would. I have seen it lying about actually uncut on

the mantel-pieces of inns and on the tables of steam-boats, and it would have soon reached the ultimate destination of such attempts at authorship had it not been that the sum of money which must be paid for it roused some reflection.

Thus ends the history of the notorious "Grievance-Book," which, however, we must acknowledge, in the exercise of the candour we profess, contains, amidst the mass of its garbled and confused statements, mixed as they are with private history, uninteresting to the public, some statistical and useful information,—extracted, it is true, by the paste and scissor mode, but yet requiring labour and application.

Had this work been accomplished by the able and real leader of the Radical party, it would, from his legal knowledge and other acquirements, have conveyed to the Government much that it was befitting it to know, and which, divested of that atmosphere of misstatement which disfigured its contents, would have enabled that government to have arrived at once at conclusions equally clear and satisfactory.

Having given the history of the "Grievance-Book;" I shall now, without attempting to unravel the thread of the writer's own narrative, take the "Grievance Report" itself, which occupies not more than a few pages, out of nearly five hundred of the book, as a ground-work to examine into the reforms desired by the Radical influence in the country, and then state some views of the extent to which the prayer of the somewhat overbearing petitioners, or rather memorialists, might have been conceded, and the manner in which they have been met.

The first declaration of the Radical Reformers, in their "Report on Grievances," is a very sweeping one, stating that "The chief source of Colonial discontent is the unlimited patronage of the Crown, and the abuse of that patronage by the Colonial ministers."

In young and new countries, even were it practicable, to surrender the right thus boldly and irreverently claimed from the Sovereign, the result would prove, as we have already remarked, the immediate destruction of all social order, and the very semblance of regular government would be instantly destroyed.

How difficult it is to manage a party, claiming exclusive loyalty in all Colonies, is well known in Downing-street, as well as to those who are even but seldom behind the curtain; and what would be the difficulty for the Government to encounter if the populace,—uneducated populace of this new country,—were at once admitted to fill offices for which they are virtually incompetent, when they would be controlled merely by those whose interests were inseparable from theirs? Public and private plunder, massacre and bloodshed would be the results, and this fine province become either subject to martial law, or be wholly abandoned to its fate, as it very nearly has been. Can any one in his senses, who watches the march of events at home, think that a Patriot Queen wishes to oppress distant subjects for the sake of nominating half-a-dozen public officers, whose persons she has never seen, and of whose merits she is only aware by the representations of her Representatives? It is too ridiculous to comment upon,—too absurd to fancy, that the Monarch of the

greatest nation of the world is constantly occupied in scanning the relative tones and gamuts in the music of the loyalty of her Colonial subjects.

The patronage desired to be wrested from the Crown, embraced the following heads; viz., the Salaries and Donations to the Clergy, Churches, and Schools of the English, Scottish, Romish, and Methodist persuasions. The civil officers of the Government, including Sheriffs, Collectors of the Excise and Customs, Coroners, Justices of the Peace, Commissioners of the Court of Requests, Judges of the District and Surrogate Courts, Registrars of Conveyances, Wills, &c., Commissioners of Customs, Clerks of the Peace, &c., &c., &c.; the whole judicial establishment, the pensions, the Legislative Council, the officers of the House of Assembly, the Indian department (which is a military one), King's College, or University, Upper Canada College, Twelve District Boards of Education, the Emigrant Agency and Expenditure, the Crown-land and Surveyor-general's departments, the Militia and, *mirabile dictu*, the Army and Navy serving in the country, with their expenditures. The local taxations through the Justices, and the District Treasuries, were also stated to be controlled by the Crown, as well as the fees paid by suitors on all the Law Courts! The Canada Company, the Incorporated Banking, Canalling, Harbour and Dock Companies also were said to be at the beck of the Government; and lastly, the Post-office department.

Viewing this apparently tremendous array of might wielded by the Colonial minister, for purposes, as it was stated, always baneful to the Colony, we should, if a

stranger in the land, be disposed to say, such things require reform indeed. But let us analyze the subject a little, and the awful array against the liberties of the people fades away, and leaves not "a wrack behind" for the most heated imagination to torture, either into the figure or into the shadow of despotism.

The Government did not, neither could it, exercise any sway over the pockets of the people, as was artfully stated. The local district taxes were applied for the improvement of the several districts, by the people themselves, as was too well-known to require further confirmation; and the people of Upper Canada paid no State taxes, either direct or indirect.

But there are some circumstances connected with the application of the public money which might require amendment, or at all events consideration, and in order to state our sentiments on this head, we must explain that as the Constitution stood, the Church of England was, as in England and Ireland, the established form of religion; to support which, or rather to support a Protestant clergy (as the Act is worded), one-seventh part of the lands surveyed throughout Upper Canada were set apart, and the revenue thus obtained was managed by a Board named the Clergy Corporation, which was in some measure connected with the office of the Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The appropriation of the Clergy Reserves to this purpose has been a subject of dissension and discussion for years, and the discontent it has created renders it one of the grievances worthy of particular examination.

I profess myself to be a member of the English

Church, and from principle as well as inclination, am warmly and devotedly attached to it; but I cannot, with all my partiality to its institutions, close my eyes to the fact, that it is not, even in numbers, the dominant religion of this province, or that it has not slightly suffered by the well-meant exertions of some of its most distinguished supporters.

The Church of Scotland is much more widely spread in these wilds than that of England, and the endless variety of dissenters from both, are, in fact, the religious leaders of the people; whilst the Roman Church numbers amongst its votaries a large and influential body of the inhabitants.

Causes, which it is unnecessary to explain, but which must ever occur in young and new countries, from the original impossibility to afford a widely-scattered population the means of assembling for public worship, together with that independence of mind arising from isolation and the perfect freedom here enjoyed, have combined to render it impossible to make any system of religious belief available in conjunction with the system of Government in Upper Canada; and it therefore became a question whether it would not be prudent at once to render all the Canadian churches independent of that Government, by placing them entirely under the patronage of the people—by withholding supplies to any class, and converting the Clergy Reserves into a source of national wealth, by laying them open for the general purposes of education.

The respectability of the Church of England, it was averred, would not thereby be at all diminished; to verify which it was said, that it was necessary only

to travel in the neighbouring States, particularly southward, and to observe the degree of estimation in which it is there held. Any direct interference however with the Church of England could not be recommended, and therefore the constitutional grant of one-seventh of the land for the support of a Protestant clergy, was certainly the chief great difficulty in the way of the adjustment of this question, but not an insuperable one, as that act leaves its decision to the local legislature's recommendation; and I am firmly persuaded that some measures must be taken with the question, and that too sooner than is generally imagined, for the clergy-land lying as it does, diagonally across the townships, prevents the opening of the interior farms of a block, and also cuts off the absolute continuity of a system of roads.*

The present incumbents of parishes and the present missionaries and incumbents might continue to receive the support they have originally derived from it; but that it should eventually revert to the Crown and be disposed of, for the purposes of religious and moral education only, appears to me to be a matter which it is better to meet at once, than to have hereafter yielded to public opinion expressed more vehemently than it has hitherto been.

It is surprising to a calm observer, and shows the force of ancient habit, that the Legislative Council did not earnestly and sincerely approach this weighty

* Might not the vexed question of Clergy Reserves be settled by apportioning the lands according to population, leaving the various sects to apply their shares either to support their clergy or to educate their children?—EDITOR.

matter, and duly consider the Act of 31st George III., c. xxii., clause xli., in which it is clearly made a subject for their decision in conjunction with the Lower House, and by which, if any feasible recommendation were made, there could be no doubt from the very tenor and spirit of that Act, it would be favourably construed and met by the Imperial Government; but that the moneys arising from any sale or transfer of these lands, or any patronage in them, should be vested in the Assembly's discretion, would render them infinitely more injurious to the country than they now are, no unprejudiced person can for a moment doubt upon.

The law should strictly and definitively point out the mode in which these funds are to be applied, and any alteration of that mode be as carefully guarded against as the provisional allotment is itself in the Constitutional Act.*

Having thus dealt with the grievance of the Canadian paid Church establishment, which fortunately has been settled lately, and which has no similarity to the legally constituted clerical order of the State at home, (as the origin of the church possessions in England is a totally different question, coeval with and anterior even to the Romish allotments of church land there,) we shall now pass to the second division of the Crown patronage, or that embracing the civil officers of the

* I at first thought of expunging this reasoning, as the Clergy Reserves have since been settled, but deemed it better not as it shows the question on which the decision of the Home Government hinged, a great number of the people are not, however, satisfied, and the secularizing of the Reserves will again be the main question in Parliament.—EDITOR.

Government, including the whole judicial establishment.

To place these public functionaries entirely under the appointment and control of the Assembly, would be to erect an unheard-of system of irresponsible government, unknown even in the democratic institutions of the United States, and is a proposal too absurd to be mooted even by any one but a destructive politician, as the evils arising from the universal corruption that must inevitably follow would nullify the power of the law; and that the impartial administration of justice would be at an end is evident even to the most obtuse observer.

Let the salaries of the public functionaries be fixed by the deliberative opinions of the two Houses,* and that would be all that any sincere reformer could desire, coupled with a strict revision of those appointments on the part of the Government, and the severing of pluralities, some of which, as they existed, were incompatible with each other; and in a new country no man should, unless in cases of necessity, from personal qualification, have the duties of more than one office to perform, and that an efficient and responsible one.

The great complaint, the *fons et origo mali*, was that the head and members of the old Family Party held almost all the lucrative offices, and there cannot be a doubt in the mind of an impartial observer that this grievance was not without some foundation, as the aggregate sum of income divided amongst one

* As is now the case.

family alone exceeded the incomes of all the other functionaries put together; and upon the subject of an advising Council being presided over by a Chief-justice, and composed entirely of legal functionaries or office-holders, I feel persuaded that the mere possession of legal or official knowledge is anything but a desideratum towards constituting a profound statesman.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Although the precedent of the Lord-chancellor is cited as in point towards the Chief-justice being Speaker of the Upper House, I confess I did not see the analogy. The offices are very different in their nature, the Chancellor not being in such close connection with the people as the Chief-justice of a colony, who is every hour called upon to decide questions relating to their lives or property; and that being the case, it would seem meet that he should abstain either from endeavouring politically to advise the executive or from mixing in that estate of the colony which has to balance the representatives both of the King and of the subject.*

It will be said that legal advice is constantly required by the Executive Council, and there can be no doubt that it is, but is there not an Attorney-general and a Solicitor-general, whose particular offices were created to advise the Government, and could they not be called upon to give that advice in

* Sir Francis Head appears to have viewed this in the same light, as the Chief-justice was not an executive councillor when he administered the government.

the Council, as well as by the Governor, whenever it was required, without making more law-officers of the Crown members of that Council * than was necessary.

And I am of opinion that it is unwise to create the Executive Councillors wholly from the body of the Legislative Council, as the information acquired of state matters may not always be made a prudent use of. The case of one gentleman is a very strong one in point; that gentleman published in the provincial newspapers, as a reason for resigning his place at the Executive Council Board, that he was prevented from giving unbiassed and conscientious advice there, in consequence of his official position.

If he was controlled either by the Lieutenant-governor, or by the then President of the Council, he was perfectly right in tendering his resignation. I should think in all colonies that a person unconnected with the administration of justice should be always chosen as Speaker of the Upper House, whereby also the injurious system of a multiplication of offices would in one instance be done away with, and the complaint, so universal in the province, that in seeking justice one must meet the same judge in every appeal, would no longer be heard.

Neither do I conceive that every public servant in an efficient office requiring his undivided attention, should be of the Council, and for this reason am persuaded that the grievance was not unfounded which complained of the Commissioners of Crown-lands and the Inspector-general of Public Accounts

* There were afterwards two lawyers in the Council.

holding the situations of Executive Councillors, as both offices require constant and unremitting attention to the wants of the people.*

With respect to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Regiopolis, the Lord Bishop of Quebec, and the then Archdeacon of Toronto, now the Bishop of that diocese being also of that Council, it is to be presumed that the question is for ever settled, as Dr. Strachan resigned, the Bishop of Quebec never attended the Council, and the Catholic Bishop merely took his seat there when first appointed, and none of these ecclesiastics have since been nominated.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The composition of the Legislative Council could scarcely be altered without directly infringing upon the constitution; but as most of the original members were old men, it is unnecessary to observe that the place-holders will most probably in future stand less chance of being elected, and that men of talent and real importance in the country will support them.†

The materials of which this Council was first composed were scanty, owing to the limited population of the Colony; and we accordingly find, in looking over the list, that it was chiefly composed of half-pay officers of the army, retired commissariat-officers and settlers who were originally employed under the Government in subordinate situations, or have since obtained

* The Commissioner of Crown-lands is now a public officer in the Executive Council, and the Civil Secretaries, Attorney and Solicitor-general; the President is an advising officer of the Governor.

† Which was done by Lord Sydenham and Sir Charles Bagot afterwards.

employment. That it should be the reward of official and public merit to be made a member for life of the Upper House there can be but very little doubt, but that a very small proportion of its members should be official persons in the actual performance of duties connected with the Executive Government, there can be still less demur about; and that all should be educated persons the "Penny Magazine" evinces.

THE PENSION-LIST.

This grievance was one of the many fabricated to swell the list. Its amount was trivial, compared to what might have been expected from the efficient and patriotic exertions of the inhabitants, and their sufferings during the late war. In Mackenzie's list, in his "Grievance-Book," p. 123, of thirteen persons who held, as he there states, enormous pensions for years, four were long dead, and had ceased to burthen the country; and the whole number of persons actually in the receipt of pension when the "Grievance-Book" was so hastily put together, was five; and the amount of their pensions, chiefly for Militia services, was only £929,—which, as they were all very old, must soon, as he well knew, have dropped *in toto*; and accordingly, in 1837, the Pension-List was only £120. Colonel Talbot's annuity of £444 is there placed as a pension, which it was not, but a salary for the management of an experiment in settling poor emigrants, and has ceased. The Colonel is the largest landed proprietor in the country,* and has spent an arduous and long life in the service of it.

* Except Mr. Stayner, the late Deputy Postmaster-general.—EDITOR.

SELECTION OF THE OFFICERS OF THE LOWER HOUSE.

This was a very trifling grievance,—being confined, we believe, to the Clerk and Serjeant-at-arms, who might, as far as the latter was concerned, have been within the sessional patronage of the Speaker; but to insure an accurate knowledge of business and a faithful discharge of the important duties entrusted to the Clerk, it appears better that his appointment should remain as it is, without rendering it liable to change with every change of politics in the Speakers.

INDIAN DEPARTMENT.

This is a military establishment, and as such, could not be surrendered to the Representatives of the people, without manifest injury and a chance that the same system of annihilation which is practising against the Aborigines, in the States, would be speedily put in force against the unfortunate wanderers here, who are now beginning to experience the paternal care of the Queen, and whose political relations are becoming important from the numerical strength of the tribes thrust forth from the neighbouring country, and seeking the protection of our flag.

Sir John Colborne, by a wise foresight, recommended the establishment of all the wandering tributary Indians on the Manitoulin,—an immense island near the northern shore of Huron; which measure hereafter will assuredly induce the tide of emigration to flow westward along those shores to Lake Superior, whenever the more Eastern districts of Canada are populated.

The Indians bless Sir John's name; and well they may, for he devoted a great deal of time and thought to better the condition of these hitherto ill-treated denizens of the forest,—these true and unquestionable children of the land, *les vrais enfans du sol.*

KING'S COLLEGE.*

The patronage of the Government over this Institution is another instance of the adroitness with which the framer of the "Grievance-Book" could cast his glamour over the eyes of the people of his "gentle public." Nothing whatever had been expended upon it out of the revenue derivable from the lands set apart to endow it,—amounting to 225,000 acres, and, in 1837, worth about £200,000,—excepting the salaries of a Registrar, Burser, Clerk, and Office-keeper, altogether amounting to £436 yearly, for the management of that endowment. We believe also, that a small sum was expended in enclosing the site of the proposed University and in keeping it in order; but to talk of this as a shameful abuse of the public money was absurd.

UPPER CANADA COLLEGE.

This preparatory school to the University is acknowledged by all sensible persons to be a real benefit conferred on the Colony, instead of a nuisance, as stated by Mackenzie,—who should have been aware, by his own case, that the advantages of regular education were unknown in Upper Canada until it was instituted, and that persons who have narrowly observed the rising generation, see already a manifest

* Now the University of Toronto.—EDITOR.

improvement in conduct and acquirement. The rude and filthy drunken youth no longer annoys the citizens by his nightly revels, and cannot now shelter himself from the potent chastisement of public opinion, either upon the plea of the want of education or of his family interest.

That Upper Canada College is upheld at a great and needless expense to the public is untrue. The salaries of the masters—for they do not even aspire to the title of professors,—is barely adequate to their wants in so dear and extravagant a place as Toronto; and I know of instances where men of undoubted character and ability refused to be connected with it, on account of the deficiency of remuneration.

In the colleges of the United States the professors are well and liberally remunerated, according to the circumstances of the locality; and the Radical Reformers of a city like Toronto, which in 1837 was not so populous as many of the villages there, might be astonished when they found professors receiving a thousand and even fifteen hundred pounds annually, with free dwellings, as the reward of their exertions in educating the youth of the Republic; whilst here, in this terribly expensive monarchical institution! the humble master of the only public place of instruction was required to be content with the pay of a subaltern in the line.

But a liberal education for the male inhabitants was not the real desire of Mackenzie and his adherents, who wished that the young men should be forced to obtain the education which they require in the neighbouring States, where they imagined due and salutary Republican notions would be imbibed, whilst learning

the alterations of the English language in Noah Webster's substitute for Johnson.

I do not make this observation out of any disrespect for the learned institutions of Republican America; for I truly and verily believe that those institutions are paving the way there for a very different state of things; and as they are well-conducted, and have induced a general taste for science and literature, I can scarcely imagine that the rough kibe of the unlettered will much longer gall the heel of the well-educated.

It is not with any desire ever to see the United States of America become a congeries of insignificant monarchies that these observations are elicited, or that that vast country should succumb under the stern power of a single military autocrat, but a life spent from the period of manhood to that of the most vigorous period of man's mental as well as physical constitution in these new regions, and a careful study of their histories and aspects, enables the author to form many judgments which those who have been confined either to the Old World, or to particular portions of the New, can scarcely arrive at.

"The proper study of mankind is man." Reflection and the evidence of all former details of human vicissitude, show the calm observer who has scarcely anything to lose beyond the ties which bind his attachment to the soil that contains the bones of his ancestors, that the United States of America, reared in times peculiarly favourable to democracy, have been the source whence that struggle for popular licence which now shakes the powers and principalities of Europe has taken its origin.

The people of Europe, dreading the might, and

envying the glory of England, are willing to overthrow the ancient and scriptural dominion of kings, that they may rival Britain, ignorantly imagining that the freedom of Britons and the freedom of Americans is not one and the same thing; and that as the Americans are supposed to be naturally inimicable to the race whence they sprung, the Continental nations of Europe, by assimilating themselves to them and fraternizing with them, will eventually be enabled to humble the proud islanders to the death.

Hence the unwillingness of the French to go to war with America—hence the struggles which all the kings of Europe are now making to prevent their subjects from breaking the bonds of authority, and from achieving that which the kings themselves, even in their mightiest mood, endeavoured to effect, but recoiled from with defeat and disaster.

The revulsion to democracy in Europe would be fatal to the liberties of America. The license of the armed mob would create in every country subjected to its sway in the Old World, such revivals of the demoniac atrocities of the French revolution, that the States of America would be overrun with the fugitives from oppression; and weakened as her bundle of rods now is from the decay of some of the cords which bind it together, she would fall an easy prey to anarchy and confusion.

The policy therefore of Britain in upholding the constitution of the States, and in forming strict alliance with them, is self-evident; for the questions which now agitate that country respecting the slaves, the Indian extermination system, and the power of the executive, with the rapid creation of a moneyed as well as a landed

interest, and the great strides, above all, which scientific education has made, are not lost on the statesmen of our own country, who would naturally prefer the advantages derivable from the good understanding which exists between men of the same origin and ancestry, linked together in a system of well-ordered government, as closely as possible following the time-honoured example of a constitution cemented by the blood, and matured by the wisdom and experience of their common fathers, than to be at the mercy of the vacillating policy which a sudden disorganization of the Union would effect. The North against the South, the slave against his master, the fiery Virginian and Carolinian arrayed against his colder but not less energetic brother of New York, New England, or Pennsylvania, might suit the policy of a war cabinet at home, but England is now so thoroughly imbued with the advantages derivable from a constant and lasting interchange of brotherly affection and good-will with her hitherto estranged family across the Atlantic, that we venture to predict she will uphold the Union with the undisputed majesty of her power to do so, and will never encourage those reckless adventurers who might attempt to convulse that country; nor, on the other hand, will any future executive government of the United States either openly assist or openly favour the attempts to sever the Colonies of Britain in North America from their connection with the mother country, and overturn the monarchical form of government under which they are governed.

The Banner of the Eagle floats proudly and amicably with that of the Lion, and it is as much the interest of the thunder-grasping Bird to preserve the Crown

which blazes on the forehead of the King of the Forest intact in its glory and in its magnificence, as it is that of the Lion to rouse himself in the majesty of his strength at any indignity offered to the barred shield which decorates the breast of the Eagle of America.

DISTRICT BOARDS OF EDUCATION.

The subject of education is an all-important one to Upper Canada, but nothing could be effectually done towards systematically arranging it, until the Clergy Reserve question was settled. We shall pass over for the present, therefore, this subject for grievance by only stating that the Board of Education has been suppressed, and that King's College University has been commenced upon, but that no very energetic attempts at a real system of education are yet brought forward.*

THE DIRECTION OF THE PUBLIC MONEYS IN AID OF EMIGRATION.

This appeared to be a vast grievance according to Mackenzie, but calmer reasoners looked upon it in an opposite point of view, and thought that very little has been done by the mother country towards securing a valuable accession of settlers in the Colony. The French party in Lower Canada turned the British tide of emigration from the provinces by putting a poll-tax on each emigrant on his arrival; and the Radical Reformers of Upper Canada assisted the views of this party in trying also to exclude the British emigrant by throwing every possible obstacle in his way.

Mackenzie roundly asserted that the more wealthy

* In 1847, though in 1851 great vitality in this respect is evinced. —EDITOR.

portion of British emigrants go to the United States, and pass through Canada, and allege that they like the management there better.

The accession of a respectable and wealthier class of emigrants of late years, rendered it necessary for the leaders of the Radical party to be more active than ever, as they well knew that these settlers left Britain, not in anger with the monarchy, but to place their small capitals out to better advantage, and because some of them did not like the signs of the times there.

In the evidence which Mackenzie selected for the Grievance Committee, he brought forward two prejudiced persons only to prove his position; one an unlettered farmer, and the other a disappointed seeker for place; and both well-known as violent Republicans.

The expenditure of moneys on emigrants is so closely connected with the system of the granting of land, that we cannot do better than introduce that subject here, particularly as it was conscientiously believed to be the real grievance under which the Colony laboured, and before which Mackenzie's farrago sinks into insignificance.

By a most extraordinary perversion of intellect, the Agitator introduced the disputes between the Orange and Catholic Irish, as one of the evils of the Land-granting system, and made it a very prominent one in his Land-granting grievance.

LAND-GRANTING.

It would be a mere waste of my own as well as of the reader's time to enter into a detailed account of all the circumstances connected with the olden system

of Land-granting in Canada, as it is well known that nothing could have worked more inefficiently than that system, and the mode in which it was formerly conducted tended greatly to increase the evil.

The up-set price of the waste lands of the Crown was in 1837, on an average, at 12*s*. 6*d*. an acre; whilst in the United States the government land is at about 5*s*.*

The income of the Crown-land Commissioner was greater than that of any other public officer of inferior rank to the Lieutenant-governor, or the Chief-justice, and the whole of the accounts of the sale of lands passed through his office half-yearly to the Inspector-general of public accounts, the same officer settling yearly for the sales of Crown Timber; and the control of immense sums rested with his department in the Emigrant branch of his duties, it appearing in the Grievance Report that £31,728 18*s*. 11*d*. was expended by him in the years 1831, 1832, 1833, and 1834,—or nearly £8,000 a year.

It also appears that his Accountant had as great a balance as £8,802 9*s*. 8*d*. in his hands in December 1834, of the Clergy Reserve Fund,—or nearly £1,500 more than the Blue-book returned as the Clergy Revenue for that year; whilst the Crown Revenue principally collected by him from the lands and forests, amounted in the same year to £33,271.

Under all these circumstances, it was infinitely better for the country that the office of Commissioner of Crown-lands should have been done away

* In the fine, though unappreciated, Province of New Brunswick, the Government price is only 2*s*. 6*d*. sterling:—in Nova Scotia, 1*s*.—EDITOR.

with altogether, and some better mode of conducting the Land-granting department be adopted.*

The Surveyor-general's office, in my opinion, should have the sole and efficient direction of all public lands; excepting the military reserves, set apart for Ordnance purposes, which should never be more extensive than those purposes clearly and actually require.

All applications for Crown-lands of every description ought to be made to this office, which should not be permitted to take any fees whatever; although as an immense mass of duty would thus be imposed in addition to that which it now performs, the officers might be more adequately paid.

If the Lithographic Diagrams of the Lots and Townships were issued to the public at a reasonable rate, there would arise from them for many years to come an annual saving in this office of at least £500; which might be applied in establishing Land-granting Agents in the chief town of every district,—who should, even although it might somewhat increase the expense of the department, have liberal salaries, but not be allowed to undertake private land-agency, or to retain public money beyond one month in their hands, paying the proceeds of their sales to the District Treasurer monthly; who should also remit the same immediately after the expiration of each quarter to the Receiver-general.

If these Agents at each chief town of the several districts were constantly furnished with Lithographic Diagrams, and with powers to locate emigrants, the

* A very important alteration was made by Sir Francis Head, and since by Lord Sydenham, I have therefore omitted the original suggestions.

vexations experienced would immediately vanish, and the country would flourish rapidly.

The Director-general* should be a scientific man; such an one as,—say a military man, of known ability as a mathematician and astronomer, and one entirely unconnected with the country, would be the fittest person for this office.

He should not be confined to the office at Toronto, or at Kingston, or at Quebec, or at Montreal,—where the duties were not much more responsible than those of a mere clerk, and might be performed by any well-educated gentleman. He should annually visit every District Agent, and as much of the new locations as possible (particularly of the emigrants), and endeavour to check that trade in the lands owned by the needy, which has been carried on to a most unknown extent by speculators of all kinds, from the Councillor to the member of the Lower House, and the adventurer from the States, and which paralyzes the country even more than the high price of Crown lands, and the hitherto dormant state of the Clergy Reserves. To obviate much of this evil, it appears to me in future necessary to grant the public lands to settlers, in the following manner:

To British actual settlers, whose circumstances are sworn to be such as to render them unable to purchase a block of 100 acres each, upon the following conditions;—50 acres, upon paying down 1*s*. per acre, and binding themselves to the usual service of clearing and erecting a dwelling. The remaining 50 acres of the block, in five years, at 5*s*. per acre,

* Director-General of the Land-granting Establishment for both the Canadas.

with a deed free of expense; provided that the settler has in those five years a log-house, and barn, and five acres fenced under cultivation either arable or pasture.

I have laid down the lots at 100 acres, as it coincides with the views entertained by the Colonial-office in the Regulations of February, 1831, and because 100 acres affords ample support and employment for a poor emigrant's means.

Emigrants from Great Britain, possessing capital and entering into bonds actually to settle, should be permitted advantages according to their capital, and should pay at once the up-set price of five, ten, fifteen, or twenty shillings per acre, according to the locality they desire, and the known value of the land; obtaining their patent as soon as they had opened for cultivation such a proportion of acres as might be deemed fit.

But in all these advantages the lands should be carefully guarded against speculators; and in no instance should more than 500 acres be sold to one settler in a township, whatever his means might be: for if he has plenty of capital, and wishes to be in a well-settled part of the country, he will always find a sufficiency of private land for sale. And in order to induce those now holding half the province by their speculations uncultivated, in hopes hereafter to create a landed aristocracy,—if I may use the term,—a somewhat heavier tax should be put on wild lands, so as to avoid injuring the owner of small portions, who cannot either obtain a market for them or cultivate them, but at the same time to make the land-jobber feel that his speculations will not be permitted to keep the country a forest for centuries.

To settlers from the United States, or those coming

from a foreign country chiefly on speculation, I should not feel disposed to hold out the same inducements as in those granted to British settlers.

The territory of the United States is large enough for its children for ages yet to come; and as Upper Canada is desirous of becoming national, and has been peopled hitherto chiefly by men of British principles, it seems that however useful and industrious the Americans are in any country, that to encourage their quitting their own favoured soil would be detrimental to all British interest, as Canada is not a large country as far as its fertile surface is concerned. But I would make no further distinction between British and foreign settlers than this. As soon as a British emigrant had built his log-house and had cleared one acre of ground, he should be permitted, if he had paid for his fifty acres, or for his whole purchase as the case might be, to hold the elective franchise; provided he was the head of the family,—or in case of individual unmarried settlers, provided he had exercised that franchise after attaining the age of twenty-one in Britain or in Ireland, which could easily be proved.

For the foreign settler, the Oath of Allegiance should constitute one test—and the actual performance in person, and not by deputy, of the legal settlement-duties, another; whilst no head of a family, nor in short any foreigner, should be permitted to vote at elections of any description until after he had been seven years in the province, from the date of his deed for his land, and from his taking the oath of allegiance, which in no alien case should be administered until the applicant had attained twenty-one; and in towns no foreigner should be entitled to vote at all, unless he

had constantly resided there for seven years. Thus Canada might become a country; and there is nothing unfair in this proposal, although it would paralyze the Radical interest: for it is well known that restrictions much more onerous are placed by every nation on aliens, and by none more efficiently than by the United States.

If the system of Land-granting is thus modified and altered, the Port of Montreal being now common to both the Canadas, an immense influx of British settlers would immediately enter and re-enter this country; and should it be still found advisable to expatriate such paupers as are able to work, and willing to try their fortunes in Canada, the low price at which land would be obtained for them might easily be raised either by private subscription, or from the Poor-law funds. Each head of a family would thus require only fifty shillings to commence farming with; and if he was supplied with suitable tools, and two years' rations, would become independent; whilst at the end of the term at which he was to be left to his own resources, he would be so far advanced in the scale of society (and consequently in his own estimation) as to be entitled to the elective franchise.

I look, therefore, to the following leading measures as calculated to remove all real complaints, and to tend more than any other to create and foster British feelings and principles in Canada; viz.,

1st. A complete, and not a mere partial, reorganization of the Land-granting system.

2nd. The right of voting, upon the payment of the stipulated sum upon the first purchase, by British emigrants.

3rd. The immediate establishment of the University

of Canada, without any religious tests being required of the students.*

4th. The separation of pluralities in all official situations, as far as practicable.

5th. The reward of merit, without relation to party or politics, and a due but a guarded admission of the French Canadians to office and its emoluments. On some of these points I have stated my views sufficiently at large, excepting the fifth, which is a difficult question, and requires great deliberation.

BRITISH EMIGRANTS.

Since the government of Sir Francis Head this subject has occupied much reflection, and it is hoped will form a prominent feature in the measure for settling the agitation of the country; for, to use his own ideas in that clever work, "Bubbles from the Brunnen," it will, if properly settled, with the extension of education, completely paralyze and annihilate the hopes of the Radical Revolutionists in Western Canada; for the real "sweet little cherub that sits up aloft to keep watch" for the life of the country is not only sound and cheap education, but the unlimited exercise of the privilege of elective franchise by the free-born settlers from the old country, who will very soon outnumber the Canadians of French extraction, as is proved by the continual increase of emigration,—the Agent's returns for 1842 alone giving the enormous amount of British emigrants arrived at Quebec, up to October the 31st, at upwards of 45,000.

* In the University of Toronto no tests are required, though in the new Trinity College none but those of the Church of England are permitted to study.—EDITOR.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Lower Canada from 1826 to 1837, when the Rebellion broke out.

But the reader must now return with me to Lower Canada, where the same desperate scheme of revolution was concocting by Papineau, on a larger and more dangerous scale.

The great trial of skill to obtain the appropriation of the casual and territorial, in fact, of all the imperial and colonial revenues, had been steadily going on; and in 1828, a grievance petition, signed by 80,000 *habitans* and their leaders, denouncing Lord Dalhousie, and almost demanding the surrender of the revenue, was sent home, and subjected to the deliberate examination of the House of Commons, by the Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Huskisson. The Committee reported in favour of the House of Assembly, reserving, however, the salaries of the Governor-general, the Judges, and the Executive Council, which were to be continued, as independent of its control. The grievances of Lower Canada were also generally considered, and recommendations made for an extension, on more open principles of the Constitution of the Councils, and

a more liberal system of granting and selling the public lands. This gave great satisfaction, and Mr. Huskisson was highly applauded. The Judges were requested to resign the seats which they had held, and some liberal members were added to the Legislative Council; and even Papineau, the leader of the Reformers, was declared admissible to the Privy or Executive Council: the Canadian joy knew no bounds; and when the Governor-general left the Colony, to be replaced by Lord Aylmer, in 1830, Papineau headed an address to Sir James Kempt, expressive of the sorrow that was felt at his departure, and their confidence and thankfulness for the justice of his measures.

Lord Aylmer, a nobleman of very conciliatory and engaging manners, who had distinguished himself under Wellington, was at first hailed by the Canadians as a viceroy, in whom they were disposed to place every trust, and to him was confided the delicate and difficult mission, which was to result in placing the Assembly in full possession of the ways and means of the country. Accordingly, in the latter end of the year 1830, the Governor-general prepared the measure which was to place the revenues under the control of the Colonial Legislature, on condition that the Judges and principal officers of the Imperial Government should have a permanent and unalterable provision first secured for them. The imperial duties on the sale of land, on permission to cut timber, on licenses, &c., were still reserved, and the small annual sums yielded therefrom were to be set apart for the support of the clergy of the English Church. It was on this

tender point that the consciences of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian members of the House were most likely to be touched; and notwithstanding the fact that the stipends of these Ministers of the gospel had hitherto been paid by England out of the Military chest, yet their being paid at all was, no doubt, a sore point, although the Roman Catholic Bishops received a salary of £1,000 a year from the same source. This was, therefore, a master grievance; and nothing could be better than the honest, upright, and manly way in which Lord Aylmer had acted, by plainly stating the intentions of the Government.

Mr. Neilson, a clever and energetic leader of the Reforming Party, but who abandoned it the moment it became revolutionary, took a prominent part in passing the celebrated address and resolution, which went to the extreme length of asserting that nothing short of a surrender of the whole of the revenues of the Crown would satisfy the House of Assembly, and that any attempt to provide for an Established Church would be resisted.

Lord Aylmer now had an opportunity of seeing the character of the revolutionary leaders, for early in the month of March, 1831, he was presented, as Sir John Colborne had been in Upper Canada, with a string of grievances which had been cleverly manufactured, and which the Governor-general received with the utmost coolness, asking if it contained every complaint which it was thus sought to have redressed, as nothing could be afterwards added or considered.

Notwithstanding a furious previous vote to stop the supplies, the Assembly, somewhat struck with this

rebuff, pocketed the grievances and passed the required Bill.

It would occupy too much space to narrate the continuance of the struggle between the Colonial Office and the refractory Assembly upon the subject of the control over the public officers, from the Governor-general to the lowest clerk or messenger, which the Radical House aspired to obtain by means of the national purse being entirely placed at their mercy.

Lord Aylmer, whose generous disposition towards the country he was sent to govern, would not suffer him, for the sake of expressing his dislike of the measures of the Agitators, to vilify the whole mass of the people, invariably represented his fixed opinion that the Canadians were a loyal, an honest, and a respectable race; and had he ruled in happier times, I have no doubt his amiable character would have been duly appreciated by them. Without any desire to flatter a nobleman, I feel it but justice to say that, to a knowledge of his virtues from my childhood, I must add the experience of a man, and feel assured that, had not his time been occupied by the proceedings of Papineau, he would have brought into operation his intentions for the internal improvements of the country, in which he travelled and explored more from Labrador to Superior than any other viceroy, or in fact than any other public functionary or private gentleman in the Canadas.*

* It may be supposed that I have some personal reason for dwelling upon the character of Lord Aylmer. The first work my father wrote, now out of print and not to be procured, was a little book of "Philosophical Recreations," and I recollect as a child hearing him

In 1831 and 1832, the House of Assembly was entirely occupied with the struggle we have named, and Lord Goderich, having yielded all that was reasonable, determined that the Governor and public officers of the state should not be placed at their beck. In 1833, Lord Stanley being at the head of Colonial affairs, directed measures for preventing the further operations of the attempt to monopolize all power and patronage by Papineau and his party. The salaries of the public functionaries had been purposely withheld, in order to make them feel the weight of the displeasure of the house, and through them, effectually to embarrass the Government.

Vigorous measures were necessary, and therefore Lord Stanley ordered the Governor to pay a part of the salaries, so long due, from the Imperial funds, which had as yet remained out of the reach of Papineau's party, who had then determined to enlarge the sphere of their operations, by resolving that the country must have a House of Peers (the Legislative Council) responsible to, and elected by the people, and that the Upper House should therefore be dissolved.

Papineau here committed a great error; he knew well that the state of England would prevent even the

say it was for Lord Aylmer's amusement, and that the frontispiece was drawn by his lordship. My father's most popular work, his "Astronomy" was also written with the same intention; and I have heard him often say that he was prepossessed with an opinion of the abilities of the young noble, and he was therefore not at all surprised to find that he had afterwards, under Wellington, become one of the most efficient of the Peninsular Staff.

The voyage of exploration to Labrador, Newfoundland, and Gaspé, which Lord Aylmer made in 1831, is detailed in the second volume of "Canada in 1841." His voyage to Superior I am unable to give.

hearing of so preposterous a claim by a colony which laboured under feudal laws. But he bore still tighter on the tether, and actually proposed a National Convention to decide the qualifications of the Electors for Members of the Senate, and the period of their office.

The Colonial minister, with his accustomed vigour, fired a heavy broadside at this Republican scheme. He declared such demands inconsistent with Monarchical Government, refused to advise the King upon it at all, and hinted to both Houses, the Upper one having ridden the high horse a little, about its pre-eminence and privileges, that it was very possible, the state of parties in Lower Canada, would oblige the Government to reconsider the charter of 1791.

Lord Aylmer's conduct throughout all this continued scene of preparation for a rebellion was temperate and conciliatory; but in 1834 the Assembly declared open war against him, refused all supplies, and designated his Lordship as everything that was bad, and solicited his immediate recall; but instead of being victors in the fight, the military chest was opened, and the public servants paid.

After a short interregnum at the Colonial office by the present Lord Monteagle, the ministry harassed with the endless grievances of Mackenzie and Papineau, determined to take some effectual measures to remedy so evil a condition of things, and three High Commissioners were appointed with full powers to examine into the condition of every department of the state, and the condition of the colony in 1835, and the Earl of Gosford was nominated to succeed Lord Aylmer.

The Governor was chief of this Commission, which

Lord Glenelg had also composed of Sir Charles Grey, a relative of Earl Grey, and who had been a judge of the Supreme Court of Madras, and Chief-justice of Bengal, and of Major Sir George Gipps, a captain in the corps of the Royal Engineers, and since Governor of New South Wales.

These Commissioners selected by the Whig ministry, were all of, what is termed, liberal politics; and it was therefore supposed, instructed to report favourably as to conciliatory matters with the people of Canada; and the "Instructions" for their guidance were based upon terms which the most ardent Constitutional Reformer would have hailed, for the control of the Revenue was to be ceded, on certain stipulations as to the public officers' salaries being first secured.

The question of an Elective Legislative Council was unfortunately not entirely set at rest. That of annulling a contract, which the Government had entered into with a highly respectable mercantile body or association, "The British American Land Company," for the settlement of the ungranted lands of the Eastern townships, and other unlocated portions of Lower Canada, was declared to be out of the question, nor would Lord Glenelg assent to part with the control of the Crown over the territories which were reserved as Crown lands. The ministry were willing that the right of making future grants of pensions for Colonial services should be ceded to the House.

In short, excepting on these few points, the Home Government met all the most exigent views of the Assembly, and Lord Gosford opened his Parliament on October 1835, with a speech, which displayed the

tone and temper of the Ministry of the day, as being most favourable to the advancement of Canadian prosperity, and as leaning with a friendly bias towards the French Canadians, and promising redress for almost all the ninety-two grievances.

These grievances, however, like the tales of the Sultana, only increased in number the longer the Sultan listened, and they now claimed as rights what they had before asked as favours. Conciliation was carried to its utmost limits, and violent, and unusual invective on the part of the British residents was contrasted by a most winning personal kindness on the part of the Governor towards the opposite faction, who mistook his bearing for his instructions, and were determined to try his temper to the uttermost.

It was now that the inevitable consequences began to develop themselves. The small cloud on the horizon, at first scarcely visible, had gradually enlarged and blackened, until it glowed with a lurid redness, and gave token that the storm was about to burst.

The Upper Canadian Reformers had joined heart in hand with Papineau, and it is grievous to reflect that the United Republicans were backed and supported by members of the Imperial Parliament; one of whom had the hardihood to assert that the domination of England over her Colonies was a baneful one, in a letter written to Mackenzie, and to advise Papineau how to act in another. Whilst Lord Gosford was doing his utmost to allay the storm, and the Commissioners were busily at work at pacification, the Legislative Council took fire at an inuendo by his Lordship, that if that body offered any opposition to the passing of

a Supply Bill for the three years of arrears of Public Salaries, and half a year's advance, the Governor would pass that body over by accepting the terms himself. Such a course was contrary to his instructions, and held out the brilliant hope that ultimately the Radical Assembly would succeed in annihilating the Patricians.

The publication of chief part of the instructions in Upper Canada, by Sir Francis Head, soon opened the eyes of Papineau and his party, and they at once saw that the influence of the Legislative Council was only to be submerged for a moment, to answer a pressing emergency; and that as to swamping it entirely, the Home Government had never even contemplated such a measure.

Thus commenced the year 1836,—no Supply Bill, no cordiality either between Governor, Council, or House; all the Legislative enactments on which the welfare of the country depended in abeyance,—the Legislative Council rejecting every Bill sent for their concurrence;—the country paralyzed, and the Commissioners at fault.

It has fallen to the lot of other Colonies to witness these undignified and hurtful squabbles between the Upper and Lower Houses, and everywhere that it has happened the country has suffered.* The Upper Houses have too often conceived themselves images of the House of Peers; and to such an extent has this idea gained ground, that I have heard that the reasons

* The little colony of Newfoundland was paralyzed in its infancy by it to such an extent that the Minister found it necessary to swamp both Council and Assembly by amalgamating them into one discordant whole.

assigned by some persons in the Colonies for placing the military black cockade in their servants' hats, have been that peers of the Realm are entitled to such privilege,—a privilege, by the way, not to be found in *Hatsell.*

The claim of precedence of some of these Councillors, too, is occasionally very embarrassing to the Governors, as, in addition to their acknowledged official rights in the Colonies, they stand up for the same honours for their families; forgetting that in England, life-office, or office of any kind, only confers honours upon the holder.*

The struggles in the Colonies on matters of privilege and precedence, lead to many of the real though hidden embarrassments in them; and although there is, generally speaking, no great and fixed distinction of the educated ranks, yet the House of Assembly looks usually upon the Legislative Council as occupying a superior position in society without adequate reason, and the Councils look down upon the Delegates as a sort of *tiers état,* which is often very troublesome to their dignity. This rancorous feeling of the Patricians and Plebeians towards each other was most evident in 1836, when Sir Francis Head and Lord Gosford were actually engaged in the work of pacification; and as the objects of Papineau and Mackenzie were both revolutionary and alike, every method was taken to

* There was a terrible *fracas* in India about this silly question lately, and such is the importance attached to these fancied rights, that in many of the very smallest Colonies a Baronet of the United Kingdom would have to walk out of the room at a public party after a Councillor, if that Councillor insisted upon his privilege.

bring the Patricians into contempt, which that body occasionally assisted by forming too mean an opinion of their enemy and his powers,—a mode of thinking which has lost many a battle, civil and military. The Patricians, in fact, in a Colony, although generally speaking like the peers of England,—the bulwark against which the waves of Republicanism foam and break, are themselves occasionally stormy, and sometimes very difficult to manage, as they are apt—such is the invariable tendency of human nature—to overrate their own true and actual importance, and to view themselves as "The Country," and their interest as the paramount one which Governors are sent out to take care of. I remember a very amusing instance, and as history is dry work, shall relate it.

When Sir John Colborne, the hero of a hundred fights, first heard of a successor being appointed to him, in the person of Sir Francis Head, much was the speculation, and great the canvassing. Sir Francis was comparatively, indeed entirely, unknown in Canada. His "Rough Notes of a Ride over the Pampas," and his "Bubbles from the Brunnens," constituting his public reputation; and they, such was the paucity of books in the Upper Province, had not been read by even half-a-dozen people at Toronto.

A Whig ministry having selected him to replace so distinguished a general officer as Lord Seaton, the Radicals and all the lower classes attached to the Radical cause, became immediately acquainted with his political character. Mackenzie's and O'Grady's papers were full of his praise; Mackenzie "*knew* him" to be "a tried and thorough-going Reformer," and accord-

ingly the walls of Toronto were placarded to the effect that he was "one of the people" long and long before he entered them.

I was the only Officer of Engineers on duty at, or within a hundred and eighty miles of the Capital, and Sir Francis had commenced and completed his military career in that corps. Accordingly I was assailed at so eventful an epoch with multitudinous inquiries on all sides,—"Was he a Radical?—was he a Reformer?"—for I believe it was pretty generally surmised that he must be either one or the other. For me, alas! I was ignorant on the subject; so as nothing specific as to his politics could be made out,—and no wonder! for in his narrative he says that he professed no party bias,—I was assailed on another score. The mighty ones of the land and the Tories, shrewdly guessed that the Whig Ministry had some powerful reasons of their own, and that they had let loose a tiger, who would perform his duty without flinching. Amongst other queries put, I was gravely asked if it was really true that he rode for thousands of miles over the scorching Pampas, with a slice of beef for a saddle, and without the usual accompaniment of galligaskins. A man who could endure such hardships was not likely to be afraid of a storm in a wash-hand basin full of frothy politics.

Again, it was deemed very hard usage to such an important Colony to send them King Stork, whose highest title to military fame was no more than "Captain of Engineers." To the person who mentioned this master-grievance, before which Patricians of a quarter of a century were to bow, I merely replied,—being myself then only a Captain of Engi-

neers,—"Captains of Engineers, my dear Sir, are sometimes devilish clever fellows."

Patricians and plebeians, Upper Canada Tories, and Upper Canada Radicals, were both marvellously disappointed, for better and for worse, when their chief arrived; for he proved to be a gentleman of an ancient and respectable family, and that his energies, instead of being devoted—as it was surmised they would be—to make William Lyon Mackenzie the first President of the State of Western Canada, were most admirably directed to keep everything in order; and mounting the old flag of his Fatherland on Government-house, he plainly told to all, that he came to recognize in Canada only the august principles of the British Constitution, and the sway of the monarch who sat on the throne of England.

CHAPTER VIII.

Civil and Military condition of both the Canadas in 1837.

THE British reader has now arrived at a period when the most interesting events were dawning in the Canadas. Sir Francis Head's policy, so diametrically opposed to that of Lord Gosford and the Commissioners, was placed fully before the Canadian public. He had declared in his first speech to the Legislature, he looked for "that loyal, constitutional, unbiassed, and fearless assistance which your King expects, and which the rising interests of your country require." I was present in the House, standing beside the throne, when that maiden speech was delivered, and could not help remarking its effect. The Reformers did not know what to make of it, and the Constitutionalists wavered in their preconceived notions, whilst the instructions he had received were staggering to both parties.

The Tories, who had strenuously opposed him at the very outset, from alarm, and had remonstrated against this very first act of his government, now united their resources to oblige him to strengthen his Privy Council from their party; but as he was deter-

mined to act unbiassedly, he selected from the ranks hitherto more exclusive, the son of the celebrated Reformer, Dr. Baldwin, who advised the admission also of Dr. Rolph and of Mr. Dunn, the Receiver-general, the son of a venerable man.

The first was an Irish patriot, whose name had been connected with the events of Irish history, and who had retired, with a large landed property, from the practice of medicine, the strenuous and untiring advocate of reform, of which his son, who was a young lawyer, had just appeared as a champion. The second was also a medical man, who had also figured with some *éclât* as a lawyer, whose professional abilities in both spheres was considerable, and whose politics were exclusively Radical. The third was a Reformer of the new school, and a man of a small private fortune, possessed, as it was then conjectured, of considerable interest in Downing-street.

Mr. Baldwin, supported by all the Reformers of all shades and of all grades, made the terms of his accepting office the dismissal of the three Tory Councillors, which was promptly refused, and his father requested, with the same result, to supply his place. After some coquetting, however, Mr. Baldwin at length assented; and the Governor, that he might not be misunderstood, wrote a circular note to each of the aspirants, informing them that they might rely on his receiving their opinions upon all the subjects upon which "he might feel it advisable" to require them.

They soon lifted the veil which covered the grand secret of their acceptance of office, and "Responsible Government" stared Sir Francis Head broadly in the

face. His opinion was, that the Governor advises with the Executive Council on all State questions, but is not bound to adhere in every case to the advice offered. If he were, he would soon be a nonentity; and, on the other hand, if he constantly disregarded its counselling, the country would suffer.

On this grand subject of grievance five councillors resigned, because they would not hold office without the Governor being bound to govern according to their notions. The greatest farce on this occasion was, that three of the five derived their principal means from holding offices, in two cases, of the most lucrative and responsible nature, and thus sought to rule over the master they served.

It does not require any great political foresight to predict, that if the Executive Council ruled the Queen's Representative, the Queen's Representative must rule the country as a partisan; for in all assemblages of men, some one superior or active mind colours their deliberations. In the instance of the battle fought by the ex-Councillors, the whole machinery was set in play by one individual, Dr. Rolph, who, with great pretensions to talent, has certainly had the merit of directing the course of the charioteers in their race with him for power, without the crowd being able to perceive his intentions, until he was at the goal; when he had, however, fortunately, not the faculty of making the most of his advantage. This man, endowed by nature with very versatile powers of mind, adds another link to the chain of reasoning which convinces the thoughtful that talents applied only to dazzle the ignorant are never of that solid order which shine not outwardly,

but force their way by conviction. Sophistry, in this utilitarian age, is not taken as wisdom.

The Executive Council had plenty of employment in deciding land claims, besides the great mass of Government business regularly brought before it; and as it occupied a good deal of the time of its members, they had a salary of £100 per annum, with the title of "Honourable" attached to their surnames,—whilst in office only.

Dr. Rolph obtained from the three Tory members of the Council their signatures to a document which insisted on their right to give advice on all State matters, for which they were to be alone responsible, and the Lieutenant-governor thus to remain their mere tool; but Sir Francis very calmly accepted the resignation of all six, and was met by an address of the House of Assembly disapproving of his conduct, and highly applauding the friends of the people and the three Tory Councillors, who soon found that they had been entangled in a net of sophistry, out of which it was impossible to extricate themselves. The whole Tory party joined the Lieutenant-governor, and British feeling became uppermost and triumphant.

The House was in a fever of excitement, and a notice was issued for a radical meeting, signed by the four members of the county adjacent to the capital. These men, who will figure by-and-by, were Mackenzie, the printer, and their leader;—Dr. Morrison, Mayor of Toronto, a medical practitioner of ultra-radical principles;—Gibson, a surveyor;—and M'Intosh. They convened their meeting, and were beaten and utterly defeated.

Mr. Bidwell—the real Coryphæus—now, in his capacity of Speaker of the House, prepared an address to his Majesty William IV., praying to be relieved of their despotic Lieutenant-governor, and even went so far as to impugn his veracity.

Sir Francis bore it all very calmly, and employed the interval in disseminating printed statements in support of the Constitution, ably penned, and speaking to the feelings and to the understanding of the yeomanry of the province; whilst the House, in answer, for the first time in Upper Canada, followed the pernicious example of Papineau, and stopped the supplies. Sir Francis, seeing no medium course, came to the resolution of declining to grant the usual contingencies; and, refusing his assent to all money bills, dissolved the House.

Such a scene, probably, will never again occur in Western Canada. The Lieutenant-governor went in State, the Royal Standard was hoisted opposite to the House, and a vast crowd collected in front of it. Sir Francis read the speech slowly and deliberately to the crowded Assembly.

The Lieutenant-governor on concluding his speech, and on reappearing at the door of the Parliament House, was hailed by three hearty British cheers; the people of all classes accompanied him home with his carriage; and when the Speaker in his place read the speech to the Commons, the House rose up and received it with a burst of acclamation which had never before been heard, on any occasion, within the walls of that Assembly, whilst Mackenzie was in actual personal danger for a time.

To afford the reader some idea of the exciting

scenes at Toronto during the latter part of Sir John Colborne's administration, and that of Sir Francis Head, I shall give two examples. Mackenzie,—indefatigable as an agitator, with his great friend Dr. Morrison, of Radical notoriety,—called a meeting to oppose the Government, and directed it to be held in a new pile of brick buildings, the Toronto Market-house, which was a square of two stories in height, whose interior was open, and embraced a large space, surrounded on the basement with butchers' and greengrocers' shops, over which ran a gallery of wood. During the proceedings, the square and galleries being crowded to excess, one of the latter gave way under the weight and motion of the crowd, and horrid consequences ensued, chiefly to the young and eager men who had obtained front standing-room. The butchers' hooks, on which carcasses and meat were usually hung, caught the bodies in descending, and some were actually suspended from them over the shambles, whilst others were impaled. Popular fury was at its height; but taught by the example of the destruction of Mackenzie's press, the young men of the Conservative party fortunately refrained from excesses which, on such an occasion, would have met with sympathy. The Agitator coolly ascribed these accidents, dreadful as some of them were, terminating in maiming and death, to the fault of the Tories, and asserted that the timbers which supported the flooring had been purposely cut through; for which assertion, on an examination, there was not the shadow of foundation, the fact having been that the galleries were originally meant only as passages to rooms and

warehouses in the first floor, and were too weak to support the tread, shifting, and weight of a crowd. Horrible were the impalements, fractures, and lacerations, and curses loud and deep mingled with the woe of parents and of friends.

Mackenzie was assisted, but not openly, by Dr. Rolph, a person of greater ability than Morrison, and possessed of a bland persuasive manner. One scheme of the joint editors of those seditious papers, the *Advocate* and *Correspondent*, was to persuade the public that although the troops were, generally speaking, under the influence of their officers, yet that many of the soldiers wanted only an opportunity of turning their arms against them; and every attempt was made at one time to annoy Sir John Colborne, and to create disaffection amongst the soldiers; whilst one sergeant, who had been discharged, was installed by Mackenzie into the office of High-constable during his mayoralty. This man afterwards drilled the rebels, and was taken as a deserter from them at Navy Island, as he pretended, but in reality it was believed he was employed as a spy. I do not recollect what became of him afterwards; but to shew the extent to which the plan of demoralizing or annoying the troops was carried, I shall give an instance which occurred whilst I was a temporary commandant of Toronto, and that distinguished Highland Regiment, the 79th, with a few Artillerymen, composed its garrison.

Finding all attempts at seducing the loyal Scotchmen unavailing, the revolutionary party attempted to bring them into collision with the people.

A publican kept a respectable boarding-house near

my residence, whose father had been a Quartermaster-Serjeant; and having distinguished himself in the American war, had preferred Upper Canada as a loyalist, to the new-fangled States of the Republic. This publican, unworthy of his sire, was deep in the interests of the reform or revolutionary leaders, and became, although illiterate to such a degree as to be unable to write, an Alderman of the City, having, by his specious behaviour, deceived several loyalists into giving their votes for him.

The House was sitting at its most stormy period, just before Sir John Colborne resigned; and one act of the play now to be performed was, to take every opportunity of insulting the Military. Accordingly frequent assaults upon the soldiers took place; and to make the thing very conspicuous, mobs of boys followed them, especially if not quite sober, as far on their way to the Barracks as the Parliament House, in front of which, at the protracted nightly deliberations, shouting, hallooing, and execrating the troops was well kept up, for the purpose of disturbing the Legislative deliberations.

I was looking out of my window one fine autumn night, just before retiring to rest, when I saw my friend the Alderman running by in great haste, and having heard one of the usual rows, I asked him what was the matter. He said the soldiers were killing the people. I buckled on my armour, as the Barracks were very distant, and sallied forth. The Governor's Guard-house was near; and when I got to the front of the Parliament House, I found the customary game going on, at its gate, against the soldiers who were

intoxicated. The Alderman was very busily engaged in haranguing the mob upon the execrable tyranny and danger to the body politic of the military. Upon which, telling him that he was taking the very reverse method to that which Magistrates usually employed to quell disturbances, I pointed out that there were scarcely any persons annoying the men but a ragged score of boys, and that if he would send them off, I should call out the Serjeant of the Guard, and make the soldiers prisoners. I received a deal of rhetoric from my Aldermanic friend, and at last told him that he was acting as if he only wished the soldiers to use their arms, which, by-the-bye, they had lost or been deprived of, and that instead of keeping the peace, he himself was breaking it and doing all he could to create collision. Whereupon, having consigned the soldiers to military durance, I wished his worship a sound repose. Of course this ran the round of Mackenzie's press, and was a fine subject for a few days; but as the facts were strictly those stated above, after exhausting every epithet which their vocabulary yielded against the army, the trick fell into Lethé.

I merely relate these occurrences to show how fast rebellion was making its way at that time; but we must return to Sir Francis Head, who having been threatened with the probability of the Lower Canadian population rising *en masse* to assist their revolutionary friends in Upper Canada, replied in answer to an address, "In the name of every Regiment of Militia, let them come if they dare!" and immediately hoisted on the top of Government-house the Union flag, as

a symbol that as long as that flag waved in Upper Canada, he would maintain the connection with England. These words, which will ever be remembered in that country, cut deeply into the minds of the revolutionists, and they cut with more edges than one; thus resembling the gladiatorial sword.

Insinuations, palpable as the light of the sun, had been spread through every corner of the land, that in the event of the Reformers carrying the day, aid would be given upon the largest scale by the United States.

The words of Sir Francis were directed against Papineau and his myrmidons, but with the usual trickery of Bidwell and his party; they, although their meaning was direct and palpable, were turned into an offensive declaration against the United States. Nobody in Canada misunderstood them, and if they came home to the sympathizers across the lines, so much the better; but I can safely assert that such at the moment, was not their actual intent or purpose.

To show what Sir Francis Head had to contend against at that time, I shall give a correct list of the Members of the House of Assembly, extracted from the *Correspondent and Advocate,* the organ of Mackenzie's party, dated April 7th, 1836, now a curious document. By the term Native Canadian, is meant the original settlers, their descendants, or those born in the province.

NATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF THE 12TH PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA.

NATIVE CANADIANS.

Bruce	Radical	M'Nab	Tory
Cook	"	M'Micking	Radical
Chesser	"	M'Crea	Tory
Cornwall	Tory	Merritt	"
*Caldwell	"	Perry	Radical
*Boulton	"	Roblin	"
*Hagerman	"	Robinson	Tory
Jones	"	Richardson	"
M'Donell (Stormont)	Radical	Rymal	Radical
M'Lean	Tory	Smith	"
M'Donell, Northumblnd.	"	Small	"
Morrison	Radical	Wells	"

* Born of British parents and came in at an early age.

Sons of U. E. Loyalists born in the United States and came in with their parents when young.

Moore	Radical	Shibley	Radical
Waters	"	Hopkins	"
Shaver	"	Woolverton	"

IRISH.

Parke	Radical	Wilson	Radical
Brown	Tory	Wilkinson	Tory

ENGLISH.

Alway	Radical	Lewis	Tory
Durand	"	Taylor	"

AMERICANS.

Bidwell	Radical	Norton	Radical
Duncombe C.	"	Rykert	Tory
Duncombe D.	"	Walsh	"
Gilchrist	"	Yager	Radical
Lount	"		

SCOTCH.

Chisholm	Radical	M'Donell, Gleng.	Tory
Dunlop	Tory	Malloch	"
Gibson	Radical	Strange	"
Mackenzie	"	Thom	"
M'Intosh	"	Thorburn	Radical
M'Kay	Tory		

		Radicals.	Tories.
Native Canadians	24	12	12
Scotch	11	5	6
Americans	9	7	2
Sons of U. E. Loyalists born out of this Province	6	6	0
English	4	2	2
Irish	4	2	2
	58	34	24

County of Leeds unrepresented, but entitled to two members; County of Hastings one member, dead.

It will thus appear that at the outset of the Lieut.-governor's career, there was a sheer majority of ten Radicals in a house of fifty-eight members; whilst more than one of those set down as Tories by Mackenzie were anything but Tories in the Radical sense of the word in Upper Canada.

The New House, in 1837, after the successful appeal to the people, was somewhat differently constituted; and by chance I have kept a paper, which shows its analysis as follows; and first giving the names of the members as a record of the times, I shall place it in juxta-position with the former.

MEMBERS OF THE HON. THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

Honorable Sir Allan Napier McNab, *Speaker*.

TOWNS.

W. Draper.....City of Toronto	H. Sherwood .....Brockville
C. A. Hagerman ..Kingston	M. Burwell .....London
C. Richardson ....Niagara	G. S. Jarvis .....Cornwall
Colin C. Ferrie ...Hamilton	

COUNTIES.

Richard P. Hotham ...Prescott	Donald Æ. M'Donald Stormont
John Kearns..... „	Peter Shaver .....Dundas
Thomas M'Kay ....Russel	John Cook ..... „
Donald M'Donald ..Glengarry	John A. H. Powell ..Lanark
Alexander Chisholm.. „	Malcolm Cameron .. „
Alexander M'Lean ..Stormont	John Bower Lewis ..Carleton

Edward Mallock ....Carleton
James Morris.....Leeds
Ogle, R. Gowan .... „
Hiram Norton .....Grenville
— Burritt ..... „
James Mathewson ..Frontenac
John B. Marks ..... „
John S. Cartwright } Lenox and
George Hill Detlor } Addington
Charles Bockus .....P. Edward
James R. Armstrong „
David Duncombe ....Norfolk
W. Salmon ..... „
Thomas Parke .....Middlesex
Elias Moore..... „
William M'Crea ....Kent
Nathan Cornwall.... „
John Prince .....Essex
Francis Caldwell.... „
Edmund Murney....Hastings
Anthony Manahan .. „
Henry Ruttan.....Northmbrld

Alexander M'Donell..Northmbrld
George S. Boulton ..Durham
George Elliott..... „
J.W.Gamble, 1st Riding York
E. W. Thomson, 2nd „
T. D. Morrison, 3rd „
John McIntosh, 4th „
Wm. B. Robinson ...Simcoe
James Wickens ..... „
William Chisholm ..Halton
Absalom Shade ..... „
Sir Allan N. McNab..Wentworth
Michael Aikman .... „
William H. Merritt ..Haldimand
R. Woodruff, 1st Riding Lincoln
George Rykert, 2nd „
David Thorburn, 3rd „
G. M'Micking, 4th „
Charles Duncombe ..Oxford
Robert Alway ..... „
Robert G. Dunlop ..Huron *

* The Lower House, House of Commons or of Assembly, as it is termed, consisted in 1837 of 62 members.

Members.	*County.*
2	Prescott
1	Russell
2	Glengarry
2	Stormont
2	Dundas
2	Lanark
2	Carleton
2	Leeds
2	Grenville
2	Frontenac
2	Lenox and Addington
2	Prince Edward
2	Hastings
2	Northumberland
2	Durham
4	York (four Ridings)
2	Simcoe
2	Halton
2	Wentworth
1	Haldimand
4	Lincoln (four Ridings)
2	Oxford
2	Norfolk
2	Middlesex
2	Kent
2	Essex
1	Huron
	City or Town.
1	City of Toronto
1	Town of Niagara
1	Town of Hamilton
1	Town of Kingston
1	Town of Brockville
1	Town of Cornwall
1	Town of London

The British reader, for whom this work is chiefly intended, must not confound the terms Conservative

Being 22 Counties returning 2 Members each; 3 returning 1 each, and 2 of four Ridings returning 8, with one City Member, and 6 for boroughs or towns.

And as it may afford some insight to the characteristics of the Counties and Towns to give an abstract of the supposed politics and religious sentiments of the Members who composed the Provincial Parliament previous to the Rebellion, I shall do so by extracting from the most ultra-party newspapers of that day, on each side, a *précis*,— and the reader may consult the map of Upper Canada for the rest:

No. of Members.	County.	Country.	Principles.	Religion.
2	Prescott	English ..... / Irish	Conservative.	Church of England.
1	Russel	Scotch	Ditto.....	Kirk of Scotland.
2	Glengarry	Ditto ..... / Canadian Scotch	Ditto..... / Ditto.....	Roman Catholic. / Ditto.
2	Stormont.....	Ditto ..... / Ditto	Ditto..... / Radical	Kirk of Scotland. / Roman Catholic.
2	Dundas *.....	Canadian ..... / Ditto	Ditto..... / Ditto.....	Methodist. / Ditto.
2	Lanark.....	Scotch ..... / Irish	Conservative. / Ditto.....	Kirk of Scotland. / Church of England.
2	Carleton	English..... / Scotch	Ditto..... / Ditto.....	Ditto. / Ditto.
2	Leeds	Irish ..... / Canadian, British descent	Ditto..... / Ditto.....	Ditto. / Ditto.
2	Grenville.....	American desc... / Canadian, American descent..	Radical..... / Ditto.....	Methodist. / Church of England.
2	Frontenac	Irish ..... / English	Conservative. / Ditto.....	Ditto. / Ditto.
2	Lenox and Addington	Canadian ..... / Canadian, British descent	Ditto..... / Ditto.....	Methodist. / Church of England.
2	Prince Edward.	Canadian ..... / Ditto	Ditto..... / Ditto.....	Ditto. / Methodist.
2	Hastings	Canadian, English descent ... / Irish	Ditto ..... / Ditto.....	Church of England. / Roman Catholic.
2	Northumberland	Canadian, British descent ..... / Canadian, Scotch descent	Ditto..... / Ditto.....	Church of England. / Roman Catholic.
2	Durham †	Canadian, British descent ..... / Irish	Ditto..... / Ditto.....	Church of England. / Ditto.
4	York.....	Scotch ..... / Ditto ..... / English descent, from Quebec... / Canadian, British descent	Radical ..... / Ditto..... / Ditto..... / Conservative.	Presbyterian Dissent. / Ditto. / Methodist. / Church of England.

and Radical, with the meaning of those party designations at home. Radical, in Canada, in it broadest sense is Revolutionary, and Conservative means anything but Tory, as many of the Conservatives in Upper Canada are not High Church and Statesmen, even of those who are excellent members of the Church of England.

No. of Members.	County.	Country.	Principles.	Religion.
2	Simcoe	Canadian, English descent English	Conservative. Ditto	Church of England. Ditto.
2	Halton	American Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Ditto. Ditto.
2	Wentworth	Canadian Canadian, Scotch descent	Ditto Ditto	Methodist. Church of England.
1	Haldimand	American	Ditto	Church of England.
4	Lincoln	Scotch American Canadian, American American	Radical Conservative. Radical Ditto	Presbyterian Dissent. Church of England. Ditto. Presbyterian Dissent.
2	Oxford	Ditto English	Ditto Ditto	Methodist. Church of England.
2	Norfolk	American English	Ditto Ditto	Methodist. Church of England.
2	Middlesex*	Irish Canadian	Ditto Ditto	Methodist. Quaker.
2	Kent	Canadian, Scotch descent Canadian	Conservative. Ditto	Church of England. Ditto.
2	Essex†	Ditto English	Ditto Ditto	Roman Catholic. Church of England.
1	Huron	Scotch	Ditto	Church of Scotland.
1	City of Toronto	English	Ditto	Church of England.
1	Niagara	Canadian, British descent	Ditto	Ditto.
1	Hamilton	Scotch	Ditto	Church of Scotland.
1*	Kingston	Canadian	Ditto	Church of England.
1	Brockville	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
1	Cornwall	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
1	London	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

Total for counties and ridings, 55; for cities or towns, 7.

* Those marked thus * are sons of U. E. Loyalists, born in the U. S., and came with their parents to seek shelter in Upper Canada, when young.

† Those marked † are sons of British people, and came to Upper Canada with their parents when very young.

It is curious to sum up this carefully. Out of the total number of Members, there were 28 Canadians, by which may be generally

The Conservatives, or in other words, those who desired to retain the connection with Britain, were themselves split into two factions. The old families, if people of about sixty years' standing, or since 1784, may be so styled, were, with some exceptions, for British supremacy, under their own control; the others were

understood, persons born in the country, but whose parents were loyalists from the U. S. when the Revolution took place there.

Canadians	28*	Church of England	36
Scotch	9	Church of Scotland	5
Irish	7	Church of Rome	6
English	9	Methodists	10
Americans	9	Presbyterian Dissenters	4
		Quaker	1
	62		62

Conservatives.		Radicals.	
Church of England	32	Church of England	4
Church of Scotland	5	Church of Scotland	0
Church of Rome	5	Church of Rome	1
Methodists	3	Methodists	7
Presbyterian Dissenters	0	Presbyterian Dissenters	4
Quaker	0	Quaker	1
Total Conservatives	45	Total Radicals	17

Total Members.....62

It must be observed that those set down as Methodists were usually supposed to belong chiefly to sects of that body at variance in doctrine with the Wesleyans, and principally under American teachers, as were most of the Presbyterian Dissenters from the Kirk of Scotland, excepting of course the Free Kirk. The Radicals of the Church of England were also chiefly persons from the United States; and it is but fair to both parties to state this, as well as that the Roman Catholics were a very loyal race in Upper Canada; whilst amongst those styled Radicals there were very many who only desired a thorough reform of their grievances, and who had no desire for revolution. It is singular to find the single peace-making Quaker arraying himself on the agitating side of the question.

* 26 of the Canadians were of the Church of England.

for British supremacy, and the high road to Fame's Temple, perfectly macadamized for all men of British extraction to travel over, with only the toll of talent and exertion to pay. Both were loyal, and both were true as steel; but their collision, unless checked by the influx of British capital and knowledge, may hereafter cause difficulty. The Reformers were as much divided, being loyal to a man, excepting those who were mere knights of the post, seeking disunion for their own selfish ends, and others for purposes already explained, combined with a not unnatural lurking desire to see their adopted country independent; a desire which they have, however, expressed somewhat before dame Nature's good nursing has enabled them to compass their ends for that country's good, as money, the *sine qud non* of existence in such a state, must be wanting if Britain no longer rocks the cradle or sends human help to prepare the child's food.

But, as the French say, *revenons à nos moutons*, let us get on with our story; and now the reader may take a glance at the sixty-two members who composed the Parliament, which was sitting after the Rebellion broke out, those marked thus Y, had, it is supposed, still a Radical tinge, and some did not take their places.*

* HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, UPPER CANADA.

TOWNS.

City of Toronto	1	Town of Brockville	1
Town of Kingston	1	Town of London	1
Town of Niagara	1	Town of Cornwall	1
Town of Hamilton	1		
	4		3

Having thus given a view of the state of parties, we shall return to Sir Francis, who was accused of using Government influence in the elections, which knocked Bidwell, Mackenzie, Peter Perry, &c., on the head, these hitherto popular leaders having been thrown out by large majorities.

Constant Radical meetings were now held, and Dr. Duncombe was sent to England to prove that Sir Francis had been acting improperly. This man, who afterwards figured as a sorry runaway leader, was an

COUNTIES.

Prescott	2	Kent	2
Russell	1	Essex	2
Glengarry	2	Hastings	2
Stormont	1Y	Northumberland	2
Ditto	1	Durham	2
Dundas	2Y	York 4	1
Lanark	2		1
Carleton	2		1Y
Leeds	2		1Y
Grenville	1Y	Simcoe	2
Ditto	1	Halton	2
Frontenac	2	Wentworth	2
Lenox and Addington	2	Haldimand	1
Prince Edward	2	Lincoln	1
Norfolk	1Y		1
Ditto	1		1Y
Middlesex	2Y		1Y
		Oxford	2Y
		Huron	1
Total	31	Total	31

Conservatives	49
Of the former Radical Parliament	13
Total	62

Of these 13, some were tried for rebellious practices, and some absconded, so that probably 10 may have been the number, and of these a few stated they were merely Reformers.

American, and the dismissal of Dr. Baldwin, Justice Ridout, and Mr. Small, completed his list of intolerable grievances, with which the Colonial office was to be assailed.

Dr. Duncombe sailed in one of the liners, as the packets are called which go from New York to London, with an officer of the Commissariat. By a curious coincidence, this officer found out who the gentleman was, as Dr. Duncombe travelled under a fictitious name, and by a still more curious chain of events, an officer in the army crossed next year in the same packet, and received very accurate information of the worthy Doctor's revolutionary intentions from conversations he had held only with the Americans on board.

Sir Francis, on finding the accusations which were levelled against him, took a protracted and extensive tour through the province, and visited the Indians on the Great Manitoulin Island, securing from them the cession of a valuable and immense tract of land on the Eastern shores of Huron, and on the 8th of November, 1836, he again convened the Legislature.

The first act of the Parliament was to pass a Supply Bill, in order to render justice to those whose incomes had been withheld, and everything went on with unusual smoothness, until the suspension of cash payments throughout the Banking Institutions of the neighbouring Republic threatened serious consequences in Canada; and the elections for the municipal officers at Toronto, early in 1837, also threatened at first to disturb the public peace very seriously.

As I was on the spot at the time, and fully

acquainted with most of the events then transpiring from day to day, I can safely say that the charge which was brought forward against Sir Francis, of tampering with the electors of the province, by the issue largely of land patents, was entirely a fabrication, and although cleverly got up, it failed in its purpose; and the attempt by the disappointed faction to seat a leading Reformer in the Mayor's chair, also signally failed, as not only was the nominee deprived of all hope, but such was the extent of the reaction that every Reformer of the twenty, who offered themselves for the offices of Aldermen or Common Councilmen of Toronto, was rejected, and the Conservatives, with overwhelming majorities, were alone returned. Apprehensions were now rife that there would be a run on all the chartered banks, and therefore the Legislature was summoned to meet in an unusual and extra summer session in 1837.

Having public and private business to transact in England at this period, I left Toronto on the 27th of May, and proceeding across Lake Ontario in a huge steamboat, landed at Oswego, and went by the Erie Canal to Utica, took the railroad to Albany, and thence by the Hudson in a steamboat to New York, where finding the *Mediator* packet-ship ready for sea, I embarked, and reached Portsmouth on the 19th of June, and travelling on to London, arrived there and delivered my dispatches at the Colonial-office on the morning of the 28th, whilst the proclamation of her Majesty's accession to the throne was going on at Charing-cross.

I mention this to show the speed with which com-

munication was kept up before the introduction of a regular line of steamers across the Atlantic. The distance from Toronto to New York could not be less than 650 miles, and from Portsmouth to London is 72; so that including the sail across the broadest part of the Atlantic and up the English Channel, my voyages occupied only nineteen days; and after remaining five weeks in London, I returned with dispatches for Lord Gosford and Sir Francis Head, reaching Toronto again on the 30th of August, four days within three months, by the very same packet-ship.

When I was at Oswego, so little was then conceived of sympathizing movements in favour of a Canadian republic, that I held converse with some merchants, who were most desirous to afford me every information to forward views for the enlargement of the Welland Canal, which I was then engaged about, and procured for me a splendid set of the plans for a magnificent ship canal, which was in embryo, round the Falls of Niagara, and which officers of the American engineers had drawn and surveyed. Good-will towards England pervaded every place I passed through, and many were the toasts for King William and the President.

Four short months sufficed to change this state of affairs. The moneyed relations of the United States had received a severe blow, which had re-acted upon Canada, and which placed the Lieutenant-governor in the unpleasant dilemma of being the arbiter of the power to suspend cash payments. His reasoning upon the financial difficulties of the United States is very able, and as his book is in everybody's hands, it will

be unnecessary to repeat them further than to observe that the unlimited paper currency and credit of those immense territories gave a stimulus to internal improvement, which at once accounted for the sudden formation of cities in the wilderness, and for an external show of prosperity, which the more steady-going Canadians were blamed for not having thought about.

The merchants of England have opened their eyes so fully upon the enormous paper traffic to which they had lent their capital, that it will be ages again before the bubbles of Transatlantic credit will float on the surface of British commerce; and the fallacy of a full and overflowing treasury, created by internal resources, has been so well explained and laid bare, that confident John Bull will ask his brother Jonathan in future a few very systematic and searching questions before his bullion is exchanged for Wall-street notes.

The conduct of the merchants and bankers of Upper Canada in this storm was extremely noble. A little agricultural province, of not half a million of inhabitants, boldly withstood the whole moneyed power of the United States, and continued calmly and honestly to meet the ruinous demands upon its purse and industry. It was as proud a lesson of British faith and principles, as that of British endurance, courage, and honour, which so shortly followed in its wake.

But we must now turn to Lower Canada in 1837, where similar events were transacting on a larger scale, and where Papineau was silently and surely, as he thought, preparing to create "La Nation Canadienne," another bubble, which the sensible French Canadians of property laughed at. Louis Joseph Papineau was

a very different person from either Marshall Spring Bidwell, or William Lyon Mackenzie. The son of a very respectable father,—who was a notary public at Montreal, and who recently died at a very advanced age,—he had embraced the profession of the law, and in 1837 was about forty-eight years old, middle-sized, and inclined to corpulency. His face was strongly marked with that peculiar style of features we see in people whose ancestors were Jews, and were shaded by his large, dark, very arched eyebrows, and nearly black hair; his eye, dark, quick, and penetrating; and altogether he seemed fitted by nature for the part he played. The outward man gave an appearance of determination to the fluency and force of his oratory, which carried, (even in private society, combined with his conversational talents and his well-stored mind,) so much weight, that by a cultivated and gentlemanly address, he drew after him the admiring multitudes of his countrymen, who were fully persuaded that he was destined to act the part of a regenerator to the Canadian nation; and that he was at least equal, if not superior, to Washington.

His early life was no doubt biassed a good deal by the political opinions of his venerable father, who had for years been styled "*Le Père des Patriotes,*" but whose patriotic notions had not reached so far as a desire to sever his country from British dominion, as he only stood forward as the assertor of those rights which the capitulation of Quebec had granted. In fact, the Père Papineau had held his own political meetings, and at one of them, fancying that the old feudal tenures and the Catholic religion were in some danger,

he had vehemently declaimed against a projected union of the provinces, and in the *Champ de Mars* had obtained an address to the King, signed by no fewer than 80,000 Canadians, who deprecated any change in the Constitution.

It is said, by those best acquainted with the family, that the father, who died considerably above ninety years of age, grieved at the aberrations of his son; and was convinced that passion, pride, and a desire for pre-eminence, instead of pure patriotism, were his guides in the reckless courses he had embraced with so much ardour.

The great mistake which this man appears to have made, was that of trusting to the support of the United States in his attempt to separate Canada from the mother country. He vainly imagined that the American republic would cordially embrace the Canadian national cause, and seat him in the Presidential chair. Whether he really intended that the feudal laws of old France should still form a portion of the "*Code Papineau*," or that the Roman Catholic religion should be the State creed, would have remained a profound secret, had not his generals Brown and Nelson developed the mystery, when they judged the time had arrived to enlighten the American borderers.

I remember, the year before the Rebellion, travelling a very long journey through the wildest forests of Canada with a venerable and highly respected dignitary of the Roman Catholic church, of Canadian birth. In such journeys much talk occurs, for which there would not be opportunities elsewhere, and among other subjects that of the state of Canada was discussed.

I asked my *compagnon de voyage* many questions, being desirous to hear a person so well qualified to speak the sentiments of the Roman Catholic clergy; who, as a body, in Canada, are eminently respectable, eminently peaceable, and eminently amiable. He told me that Papineau neither received, nor would ever receive the countenance of that clergy; that his daring schemes were not laid on the foundations of virtue or of patriotism; and that he was chiefly supported by those restless men who are to be found in every country, and who in Canada were usually doctors or lawyers, or very young men, desirous more of change than of the welfare of their country. He said that as to supporting the church of his fathers in the cause he had espoused, he believed firmly that Papineau never suffered its future interests to occupy his attention for a moment, or that he ever cared much about it, in a political point of view; in short, that his own political advancement was the darling object of his unremitted manœuvrings.

The priesthood, in fact, in Canada, are well aware that a change would injure rather than advance the Roman Catholic church. They enjoy incomes quite equal to their wants; and possessing the affections of their flocks, they have seen quite enough to convince them that the young blood in Canada is pretty much the same as the young blood of France, and quite as disposed to treat the ceremonies and the obligations of that church as rather too antiquated for such an aspiring race.

In the commencement of the symptoms of rebellion in August, 1837, the Head of the Roman

Catholic Church at Montreal, having assembled six bishops, and more than 140 priests to witness the consecration of the Bishop of Telmesse, on this occasion his Lordship, the Bishop of Montreal, addressed his clergy and said, "That so solemn an occasion as the present had never presented itself; that he saw nearly all his clergy met before him, and that he was going to take advantage of the circumstance to afford the pastors of parishes certain notices of the highest importance in the present state of the country. That the clergy were to use every effort to establish charity and union among their flocks. That they were to represent to their parishioners that it is never permitted to revolt against lawful authority, nor to transgress the laws of the land. That they are not to absolve in the confessional any indication of the opinion that one may revolt against the Government under which we have the happiness to live; or that it is permitted to break the laws of the country, particularly that which forbids smuggling; and still less is it allowed to absolve those who may violate these laws."

On this his Lordship proposed the health of the Sovereign, and it was received with the utmost enthusiasm. The six bishops and all the clergy rose and repeated the toast respectfully, and then expressed their entire approval of the notice which their chief pastor had given them.

The excellent Roman Catholic Bishop of Regiopolis (Kingston) Upper Canada, addressed his flock in the most energetic and spirited manner; but Bishop Macdonell's memory there is too well known for me

to need to enlarge upon it. He lived and died in his duty as a loyal and faithful subject.

There is, in fact, in Lower Canada as much difference between the unsophisticated *habitan* of the country places, whose fathers and grandfathers, for hundreds of years, have jogged on with the *capot*, the *queue*, the *bonnet rouge*, the *traineau*, the *pipe*, and the quiet dance and *petit goût*, and the self-sufficient young lawyer or merchant's clerk, and the rising blood of the cities, as there is between the courtier of the days of the *Grande Monarque* and he of the Citizen King. Republican ideas and false notions of the rights of man have spread widely amongst the upper classes, and will, if not checked in time, ruin the fine and excellent moral character of the yeomanry and peasantry of Eastern Canada. Papineau has had much to answer for in this respect, for before his revolutionary notions became expanded, *Jean Baptiste* was, universally, an honest fellow, and one that you could not meet without liking. He is still so, and if once his habits of reasoning, which require time to collect, are put again into their old train, and he is convinced that England wishes to make him a man, instead of continuing him in the position of a serf, he will fight England's battles again, as he did before, honestly, fearlessly, and loyally; for in his heart *Jean Baptiste* loves the *sacré Bostonais* (the American) but little. His religion meets no sympathy there, and the keen habits of the borderers of the United States are but very little in unison with the steady, regulated, quiet, and unsuspicious nature of the Canadian. I confess I like *Jean Baptiste* extremely, and I have

seen him in most characters; but he is as easily imposed upon by designing politicians and knaves, as he is open to kindness and friendliness. Let us, therefore, as Britons, take him into our confidence, and he will yet repay us. To-morrow, if I were ordered to travel from Quebec to the Rocky Mountains, or in any part of the vast, lonely, and silent forests of Canada, where civilized man had never set his foot, *Jean Baptiste,* with his ready song, his patient endurance of hardship and fatigue, and his native *politesse,* should alone be on the roll of the *voyageur;* and although our creeds and our thoughts would be very different, yet nothing would ever for a moment convince me, at a distance from all help and succour, but that my good French Canadians would perish rather than not defend me in peril, or see me want where they could supply me.

Throughout the rebellion, the *voyageurs,* for three years of excitement, never lost their character; and in Upper Canada the French Canadians were amongst those the most devotedly loyal. In Lower Canada they were led by sophistry and the false glare of freedom, to do that which any people, not much educated or much previously in the habit of reasoning, can be always led to, namely, to follow in the wake of demagogues and of excited pseudo-patriots. But, as I said before, Papineau committed a vast error with respect to the Government of the United States. The States of the Union had received a blow which they were staggering under from Maine to Florida, when the rebellion broke out. Their credit system had forced open the guarded locks of their national

Treasury, and the imprisoned angels were let forth, not again to return, even at this time.

War with Great Britain, untrammelled by foreign convulsions was, therefore, out of the question; and although the fiery spirits of Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan, were ready to cross the borders, and follow the star of liberty, and the fire-eaters of the State of Maine, were also ready to make the Boundary Question swallow up all Canada, yet the Government knew well that this was no time to meddle with Great Britain, whose giant strength had been refreshed by thirty-two years of peaceful slumber, and whose steam navy already amounted to something beyond calculation. Besides, had it suited the United States then to have put in practice its long-cherished plan of annexing the Canadas to the Union, what pretext could have been afforded to the other Nations of Europe, who are always looking with extreme jealousy upon the advances of American institutions.

The Sovereigns of the Old World, convenient as they may occasionally find the American ensign to shadow the lustre of the British flag, nevertheless cannot help knowing that if the Republicans overrun the whole Continent of America, they will soon obtain, what their present seaboard does not afford them, ports and interior channels, whence the coasts of the Cis-atlantic regions might witness events which it is as well to anticipate.

England, in fact, although the term is obsolete, still holds the balance of power in the general world. She preserves the antique and time-honoured crowns

of Charlemagne and the Roman Emperors, on the brows of their successors, as firmly as she upholds the continuance of her own free and liberal Constitution, and by retaining Canada, prevents the further spread of a power whose eagle would hurl down all crowns, sceptres, and balls, as it nearly did, by fanning with its wings the flame of French destructiveness.

Papineau vainly thought, too, that the young Republic of the United States would calmly observe a nursling taking upon itself the duties and state of adolescence. He imagined himself, in short, a Washington, and that the President of the United States could not do less than acknowledge him as a brother.

How woefully he was mistaken events have proved. The Americans made no secret of what they would have done, had his rebellion been successful. They would have made Canada another Texas, nominally independent, subject, nevertheless, to the will of her powerful neighbour. They would have declared the laws and institutions of the United States paramount, and the offices of the country would have been filled by the citizens of New York and of Vermont. The English language would alone have been recognized, and the Roman Catholic Religion must have been put upon the footing of the least favoured; as, notwithstanding all that may be advanced respecting Ireland to the contrary, it is not a creed favourable to extreme Democracy, and therefore finds but little sympathy in the mobility of the United States.

But to return to the early part of 1837, in Lower Canada. The violent attempt of Papineau and his followers to seize the authority of the Governor and to

exclude British emigants from Canada, was met by Lord John Russell, the Colonial Minister, with energy. He declared that an Elective Legislative Council could not be granted consistently with the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, nor would he listen to the Executive Council being placed entirely under the control of the House of Assembly. He also intimated that the Local Government should be carried on by paying the salaries from the Imperial Droits of the Casual and Territorial Revenues, and that a sum amounting to nearly £150,000 should be drawn from the Colonial Treasury, to liquidate the outstanding claims of arrears due to the Judges and Public Functionaries.

These vigorous measures were, however, nipped in the bud, as Parliament was dissolved by the demise of William IV. The Lower Canadians were in a ferment, and every scheme that art or exertion could devise or put in practice, was resorted to, to bring the peasantry into collision with the Government.

The counties of Montreal and Richelieu, the foci of rebellion, declared at public meetings that the measures voted in the British House of Commons were tantamount to a virtual denial of Canadian rights, and that it was useless to petition, or to rely upon, the British Government any longer; and assuming, in the mightiness of the indignation of the Canadian people, a power imitated from the first acts of the nascent American rebellion of yore, they passed most formidably frothy resolutions, declaring that it was necessary to paralyze England by withholding the use and con-

sumption of British manufactures, and proposing a Congress to prepare for resistance.

Papineau, now, without appearing very openly, was secretly training the Canadians, in nightly meetings to the use of arms, and early in the month of July, Lord Gosford thought that matters were assuming so serious an aspect, that he procured a reinforcement of a regiment of the line from Nova Scotia.

Counter meetings of the loyalists were now frequent, and declarations of unalienable loyalty to the British Crown appeared, in the most determined and apparent manner, both at Montreal, and through the British sections of the province.

The following is an answer to a letter from the Civil Secretary of the Governor-general, requiring Mr. Papineau, as an officer of Militia, to state whether he was present at a meeting at St. Laurent on the 16th May, 1837; at which, violation of the laws was distinctly recommended, and whether he, holding a commission from the state, as Major in the 3rd Battalion of Montreal Militia, had concurred (which it was notorious he not only did, but was mainly concerned), in those resolutions and requiring explanation.

The rudeness of the answer, its contemptuous tone, and the manner in which Monsieur Papineau set himself at once above all law, with the Republican mode of addressing the Secretary as merely Samuel Walcott, Civil Secretary, an expedient of annoyance, always resorted to in like cases, shows that Papineau knew the time was soon coming when his projects would show a head.

"*Montreal*, 14*th August*, 1837.

"SAMUEL WALCOT, Civil Secretary.

"SIR,

"The pretension of the Governor to interrogate me respecting my conduct at St. Laurent on the 16th May last, is an impertinence, which I repel with contempt and silence.

"I, however, take the pen merely to tell the Governor, that it is false, that any of the Resolutions adopted at a meeting of the County of Montreal, held at St. Laurent on the 16th May last, recommend violation of the laws, as in his ignorance, he may believe, or as he at least asserts.

"Your obedient Servant,

"L. J. PAPINEAU."

Lord Gosford, whose good intentions towards the French had been rudely repulsed, was perhaps of too kind a disposition for a ruler who would have to prepare for the coming storm, and calling the Legislature together in the month of August, he laid before it the resolutions of the British Commons, which had been carried by a vote of 318 to 56 on the question of an Elective Council, and on the other great points at issue, by unprecedented majorities.

These resolutions were the rule of guidance for the Government, and in the debate, which ensued on them, Andrew Stuart, Esq., a name dear to science and good government in Canada; now, alas! a remembered one only, as the representative of Quebec, proposed that the House of Assembly should meet the views of the home authorities. Sixty-three members scouted

the idea, and only thirteen rose to defend it; whilst an address was carried by a majority only of fifteen, every word of which was disloyal, and left Lord Gosford no other resource than to send the constituents to their homes.

In the meantime, Mr. Papineau had addressed a circular letter to the Houses of Assembly in the other provinces, to beseech them to make common cause with Lower Canada against the British Government. We have now arrived at the brink of the gulf of Rebellion, into which Papineau was hurried by the fatal security which he rested in, from supposing that the Republicans of America would rush in a body to his assistance, and buoyed up by the famous letter of Mr. Joseph Hume (which was afterwards taken amidst his baggage, when he left his Nation Canadienne to fight its own battles), asserting "the baneful domination of England over her Colonies."

The British Canadian prisoners I had taken in 1837, and who were mostly farmers, have told me that they were still sure the Whig Government was secretly in their favour; and in this error they continued, and most likely will continue, as Mr. Hume was supposed by them and by all uninformed politicians in Canada, to be one of the principal supporters of the Whig Government. In fact, the gross deceptions that had been practised upon these dwellers of the woodland districts was inconceivable. They all imagined that parsons and tithes were to be foisted on them "willy nilly," and that aristocracy, in its most despotic form, was to be the order of the day; but more of this by-and-by.

To meet all this lowering and threatening storm of discontent, what was the military state of Canada in the autumn of 1837? Why, with the single exception of Quebec, and the unfinished casemated *réduit* or citadel of Kingston, all the fortifications had become the cankered remains of a long peace. The guns, the swords, the bayonets rusted in the ordnance stores; and to mount a battery for the field or for the garrison was about as difficult an experiment as an artillery or an engineer officer could have had to perform. Twenty-two years of profound peace had made sad havock in harness, in wagons, in carriages, limbers, wheels, drag-ropes, and the munitions of war. The very powder was so-so, and as for blankets and bedding, the moths had long ago consigned them to the sale-shops. Not a ship, boat, sail, or oar was in the Dockyard at Kingston, which had become a grazing pasture; and the sole charge of that right arm of the military service, the royal engineer department, was limited to patching up barracks which time had sapped. The regiments of the line were on the Peace Establishment, and in Upper Canada consisted of two, the 24th and the 66th, with two companies of Artillery and three or four officers of engineers. The Artillery were chiefly at Kingston, without horses to their guns; the 24th were at Toronto, and at the upper lake posts of Niagara, Amherstburgh, and Penetanguishene; the 66th chiefly at Kingston. Perhaps the whole force might amount to 1,300 men, including artillery, for a frontier of a thousand or fifteen hundred miles in extent. In Lower Canada it was much the same, with a more exposed frontier

immediately contiguous to the United States; and to control a nation of different origin, we had the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Regiment, or 1st Foot, the 15th and the 32nd Regiments, and three Companies of Artillery, with four or five engineer officers, perhaps altogether not more than 1,700 men, with a population of 575,000 to control, and a fortress of the magnitude and importance of Quebec to garrison; the constant cry for reduction of Military expenditure thus tying up the hands of the Government.

The British settlers in Lower Canada were then in round numbers 175,000; those in Upper Canada, 500,000; so that the British Canadians were about one-fifth stronger in numbers than the French race, but separated by a great extent of territory from them, whilst the French were actually concentrated along the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributary streams. But although the British race were numerically stronger than the French Canadians, yet in Upper Canada there were a great many Americans and British Canadians, imbued with American principles; and thus out of the million and a quarter of persons composing the Canadian public, the parties at the outbreak for constitutional government and loyalty were about equal to the Radical Reformers.

The population of Upper Canada has always been underrated, as well as that of Lower Canada. Dr. Fothergill,—who published, in 1839, an excellent Almanac, which included a great deal of statistical information,—shows that from the annual population returns of the year 1839, Upper Canada gave 391,574; and that from the careless manner in which these returns

were made out, one-fourth might safely be added, or 97,893; the settled residents making 489,467, whilst the lumber-men and squatters in the forest were about 3,500; the settlers in townships, not subjected as yet to appoint proper officers to make their returns, 2,500; Indians, 7,500; emigrants unlocated, 3,000; Army, Navy, and persons employed in navigating the lakes, 7,500. Total, 513,467. But as great part of this population was fluctuating, half a million, in round numbers, was the population of Upper Canada in 1837; and although the numerical strength of the opposing parties was nicely balanced, yet the leading men of both, who, in the event of an union of the two provinces, were sure to be returned to the United House of Assembly, gave a very different result, and reduced the certainty of physical force, from the likelihood of their sentiments prevailing over those who only made loyalty a stalking-horse, to the true limits defined in the *Albion*, a paper firmly British and constitutional, which was possessed of the most undoubted sources whereby to arrive at the truth. The Editor of that paper, on the 21st of December, 1839, thus prophetically classes the contending parties, just previous to the grand scheme of union, and supposes the Lower House of the united Canadas to contain 100 members:

Upper Canada.		Lower Canada.	
Loyal	30	Loyal	10
Radical . . .	20	Radical . . .	40
	50		50

which gives a majority of twenty to the Radical

Reformers; rather too high in my opinion, but still not far wide of the truth, as will appear when we arrive at the year 1842, in this chronismatic view of Canadian affairs.

Fortunately for Canada, when Sir Francis Head arrived his predecessor proceeded, in the depth of one of the most severe winters we had experienced, to Montreal, to wait for an opportunity of embarking with his family for New York.

A sign of the coming times here developed itself. Sir John Colborne left Toronto, the city he created,* in triumph, and the loyal people of Upper Canada made his progress one continued scene of the most gratifying nature. On his subsequent journey to New York, he was met by a pleasing mark of Royal favour and requested to continue in the command of the army in Canada, which, on his return to Montreal, the whole country greeted as an evidence that it had regained, by that single act, all that continued, but well-meant concessions, had forfeited.

Sir John Colborne (Lord Seaton), one of the best officers of the Wellington era, was, therefore, once again before the Canadian public, and we shall soon meet him in another capacity;—but it is full time to bring this chapter to a close.

* Population in 1851, 25,166 souls.—EDITOR.

CHAPTER IX.

The close of the year 1837, and the Outbreak of the Lower Canada Rebellion.

Lord Gosford, in November, 1837, found himself in a most awkward predicament. The "Nation Canadienne," with Papineau at its head, determined in an evil moment to try its strength with the British Government, and all his Lordship's schemes of conciliation and kindness were scattered to the winds; he was, in short, totally unable to struggle with circumstances. But he had a man of military experience and renown to fight his battles.

The first overt act was concerted by Thomas Storrow Brown, who, possessed by the demon of revolution, had nothing to lose and everything to gain by becoming Generalissimo of the Patriot forces. Accordingly, on the 6th November, 1837, the trial of skill was made in Montreal. An association had been formed there, styled "*Les fils de la Liberté;*" and with Brown as their chief, these sons of Canadian freedom assembled in the yard of Bonacina's tavern, in front of the American Presbyterian Church, in Great St. James's-street; and shortly after two o'clock, 250 heroes sallied

forth into the city, determined to carry everything before them. The first person who received a slight hurt was a man of the name of Whitelaw, a carpenter, whose coat was perforated by a pistol-ball. The leader, Brown, was immediately knocked down by a member of "The Doric Club," consisting chiefly of the young loyalists of the city. Brown was then severely handled, and the rebels, chasing their opponents, broke the windows of the persons obnoxious to them, and cleared St. James's-street. The Dorics receiving a reinforcement, the battle became general, and Brown's party fled into the main street of the St. Lawrence suburb, where they were pursued, beaten, and dispersed, after a short fight in Dorchester-street.

The indignation of the loyalists now knew no bounds; they entered the house of a man of the name of Idler, where the rebels had met occasionally to drill, and finding a *seven*-barrelled gun, a double-barrelled one, a musket, a sword, and the flag of "*Les fils de la Liberté*," they sacked the house, and delivered the offensive weapons to the magistrates. A Mr. Joshua Bell's house next attracted their attention, as this person was thought to have acted a double part in the game; and he, to preserve his property, had snapped a fowling-piece out of a window.

The Riot Act in the meantime had been read, and soon afterwards the 1st or Royal Regiment appeared, supported by artillery; but nothing could prevent a demonstration upon the house of Papineau, and the destruction of Ludger Duvernay's office, where the *Vindicator*, a furious radical paper, had been printed, and the types, the paper, and everything

connected with it, were destroyed or thrown into the kennel.

The inhabitants who were attached to order and reason, now formed themselves into a town-guard, and at night were stationed at all the entrances to the city.

In the county of L'Acadie, simultaneous acts of rebellion occurred, bodies of two or three hundred men visiting the houses of those who were opposed to their designs, and compelling the loyal French to resign their militia commissions, and to write letters of resignation, in which they were directed to state, that they never again would hold commissions under the Queen, or serve under Lord Gosford. Such was the panic inspired in this extensive county, that many persons, whose circumstances enabled them to do so, left it to take the protection of the troops and the laws.

Papineau must have felt that this first attempt at revolution was very disheartening to the cause, and that it would require all his powers of persuasion to induce the quiet and moral Canadians to believe, as his proclamations asserted, that he was "a brilliant leader, and a constellation of moral excellence."

It was now industriously circulated by the frontier presses, that J. A. Roebuck, Esq., M.P., who had advocated their cause in the British Parliament, was on his way from England, and that fifteen millions of freemen in the United States, only waited with their rifles in their hands, to proclaim *La grand Nation Canadienne.*

Upper Canada took fire at once. The idea of the United States interfering in the domestic quarrels of Canada, was quite enough for the bile of John Bull's

Canadian offspring; and we cannot do better than to afford the British reader, out of many similar meetings, the resolutions and addresses of that at Kingston, which immediately followed the outbreak of the "Sons of Liberty" at Montreal, expressive of the sense of the Upper Canadians of that one act of Sir Francis Head, which has been so much blamed and so much praised, the withdrawal of all the regular troops from the province, to reinforce Sir John Colborne in Lower Canada.*

GREAT MEETING IN KINGSTON.

(*From the "Kingston Chronicle."*)

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Kingston, convened by requisition addressed to Richard Bullock, Esq., High-sheriff of the Midland District, and held at the Court-house on Thursday, the 2nd day of November, 1837;—the meeting was opened by the High-sheriff as Chairman, who explained the object of the meeting; Mr. Francis M. Hill was chosen Secretary; when it was—

Moved by John S. Cartwright, Esq., M.P.P.; and seconded by James Macfarlane, Esq.:

"1. Resolved,—That we are at all times ready to unite with the different provinces of British North America, in all proper measures of Reform, and in all matters concerning our interest, or those of the British Colonies, or in any way tending to support and defend our rights as British subjects, consistent with the supremacy of the British Government. Carried *nem. con.*"

Moved by Thomas Kirkpatrick, Esq.; and seconded by John Counter, Esq.:

"2. Resolved,—That this Meeting looks with concern and regret on the proceedings of the revolutionary faction in Lower Canada, as tending, not to the legitimate removal of any known or imaginary grievances, but to the utter subversion of the British Constitution. Carried *nem. con.*"

Moved by Anthony Manahan, Esq., M.P.P.; and seconded by John Strange, Esq.:

"3. Resolved,—That circumstanced as this province is, in relation to Lower Canada, we cannot any longer defer the declaration of our

This was the general, although not the universal feeling in Upper Canada; and the rebellion there had

determination to support with our lives and fortunes, the supremacy of the British Constitution, and the just dependency of the Canadas upon the British Crown. Carried *nem. con.*"

Moved by John Marks, Esq., M.P.P.; and seconded by Major Logie:

"4. Resolved,—That this Meeting will promptly assist the endeavours of the loyal and well-disposed inhabitants of Lower Canada in maintaining the liberty and laws of the British Constitution in that province; being convinced that it only requires moderate firmness on the part of our general Government, to suppress the attempts of the rebellious party there, who for many years have retarded our agricultural and commercial prosperity, and the general improvement of both provinces. Carried *nem. con.*"

Moved by John Richardson Forsyth, Esq.; seconded by Walter M'Cunliffe, Esq.;

"5. Resolved,—That understanding that His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head has signified his assent to the removal of Her Majesty's troops of the line from this province, for the purpose of aiding the Civil Power in Lower Canada, this Meeting cannot but feel gratified at the confidence which His Excellency has thus manifested in the loyalty of the people of Upper Canada, and which we are determined to prove, should occasion require it, has not been misplaced. Carried by acclamation."

Moved by James Sampson, Esq.; and seconded by Francis Hill, Esq.:

"6. Resolved,—That proud as we are of our origin as Britons, and dearly as we value the blessings of our glorious Constitution, we cannot but regard as our enemies all those who would assail the one, or endeavour to subvert the other; and in order to assist our countrymen and friends in Lower Canada, in defending these cherished objects from the assaults of their foes, that it is expedient, under the sanction of His Excellency the Lieutenant-governor, to raise and enrol a Volunteer-corps in this town, to be in readiness to act in the hour of need; and we take this occasion heartily to congratulate the loyal population of Lower Canada on their good fortune, in beholding at the head of Her Majesty's troops in their province an officer of such tried gallantry, vigilance, and decision as Sir John Colborne; and we feel assured that to act under such a commander would be an additional attraction to Volunteers from Upper Canada. Carried by acclamation."

crept on so slowly and imperceptibly, that even as late as May, 1837, I, who knew as much of the people of

Moved by William Wilson, Esq.; and seconded by Mr. G. H. M'Lean:

"7. Resolved,—That copies of these Resolutions be transmitted to His Excellency the Earl of Gosford, His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant-general Sir John Colborne, and the Presidents of the Constitutional Associations in Montreal and Quebec. Carried."

RICHARD BULLOCK, *Chairman.*

The Chairman having left the Chair, and John Marks, Esq., being moved thereto, the thanks of the Meeting were given to Mr. Sheriff for his very able conduct in the Chair.

FRANCIS M. HILL, *Secretary.*

If there be one town in Her Majesty's dominions more loyal than another, it assuredly is Kingston. Not for the *hour* is she loyal; her course has been steady and unwavering from her first foundation. She has always been essentially a British town, and disloyalty could never thrive within her precincts. Many attempts have been made by corrupt journalists to poison the minds of her people, but they have invariably been attended with signal discomfiture. The Midland-district generally is firm to its allegiance, and the impressions partially created by Bidwell, Perry, Roblin, &c., now that they are ousted from the representation, and have consequently "*retired for the present into private life,*" are fast wearing away. The noise and din of demagogueism having subsided, and its foggy mystifications having become dispersed, the ears of the people can discriminate between sterling sense and empty sound; and their vision mark justly the difference between the solid, peaceful advantages of a paternal and fixed monarchy, and the visionary phantoms, the unrealizable promises of uproarious, ever-changing democracy. The horror felt in Upper Canada at the course pursued by the Papineau rebellious faction, is nearly universal; and should the services of Volunteers be required to assist their British brethren in the Lower Province to chastise their insolent presumption, restrain their malignity, and quash their rebellious spirit, there will be no lack of ardour to respond to the first call.

An address has been forwarded from Kington to His Excellency, founded on the foregoing resolutions, to which his Excellency has been pleased to make the following reply:

GOVERNMENT-HOUSE,

Toronto, Nov. 9th, 1837.

SIR,—Having had the honour to lay before His Excellency the

the Province as any one in it, would not have believed that Mackenzie could have had the folly, or Bidwell the madness to have connected himself with any overt act.

The first time at which I recollect anything which led me to think that Papineau's schemes were making head in the Upper Province was in the fall or latter autumn of 1836, when I was returning from Penetangueshene with a French Canadian guide, and had reached Lount the blacksmith's house, on the Yonge-street road, about thirty-five miles from Toronto.

Lieutenant-governor' your letter of 4th instant, transmitting a series of Resolutions adopted by a meeting of the inhabitants of Kingston, held at the Court-house on Thursday, 2nd of November, 1837, I am commanded by His Excellency to express to you the satisfaction with which he receives from so large and respectable a meeting this public proof that the confidence which His Excellency has manifested in the people of Upper Canada has not been misplaced.

His Excellency cannot but admire the zealous determination evinced by so numerous and respectable a Meeting to maintain in the Canadas, and to transmit to posterity, the mild, inestimable blessings of the British Constitution. His Excellency, however, knowing that that Constitution most jealously interdicts the creation by the Executive of any military force whatsoever, which has not been especially authorized by Parliament, desires me to observe to you, that he could not, without the concurrence of the Provincial Legislature, sanction for any purpose the formation of a Volunteer-corps.

The Lieutenant-governor desires me to express his full confidence that the loyal town of Kingston will cordially join His Excellency in encouraging the inhabitants of this province to look to no other force for protection but the established Militia of Upper Canada, who, whenever the moment for demanding their services shall arrive, will, His Excellency is persuaded, be found ready to maintain inviolate the British Constitution, which they have already so nobly defended.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

(Signed) J. JOSEPH.

RICHARD BULLOCK, ESQ., *Sheriff of the M. D. U C.*

Some trifling accident had occurred to the wagon in which I was proceeding, and the guide stopped there to remedy it. He and I were both assailed by the blacksmith's sons, who vituperated us as Tories, and thought it a grievous sin that I, an army officer, should have such a luxury as a country wagon on wooden springs to ride in, whilst they were obliged to work. This grievous luxury of a Canadian country wagon has perhaps been experienced by some of my readers; suffice it that, unless for speed, a good English broad-wheeled one is a bed of down compared to it. They told us the time was coming when the rascally officers would have another kind of accommodation, and when they would no longer revel in the fat of the land.

I went afterwards to England with some dispatches, in May, 1837; and so little did the loyal people of Upper Canada then dream of any rebellion in their fine country, that my answers to the many questions put to me on the subject were chiefly confined to the state of Lower Canada, where it was then evident that serious measures were in embryo.

I returned on the 30th of August in the same year; still no very visible signs of any movement on the part of Mackenzie, whose bark appeared much more dangerous than his bite; and it was not until the latter end of October, or just before I left Toronto for Kingston, that I became seriously convinced of his designs.

The aide-de-camp of Sir Francis Head had been insulted whilst riding on the Yonge-street road, outside of the city. A flag had been stolen from the signal-post, on my premises, and I, in common with

other Government officers, had been continually informed by loyalist farmers on the same Yonge-street road that parties of men were drilling at night about Montgomery's Tavern, four miles from the city, and at another place near Lount's farm, at Lloyd's Town, &c. The behaviour, too, of several members of the House of Assembly showed a confidence of being able to punish their opponents, and altogether the signs of the times were ominous.

Applications from loyalists for Union-jacks were made for places near the main scene of the rebel action; and it was evident that if collision should take place, the loyalty of the people was generally to be depended on; but still no one knew the exact state of things, so well had Mackenzie kept his secret, which, after all, he was the first to divulge prematurely.

Sir Francis, who has been accused of resting inert, and of not crushing the rebellion in the bud, I verily believe thought as I, and as most other persons who knew the country did, that the revolutionary party was contemptible, both in energy and in means, and the results proved that they were; for had it not been for the sympathy of the American borderers, the storm in Upper Canada was a mere bubble of froth and frenzy.

Sir Francis, then, was right; for although I do not entirely agree with that excellent man in some of his ulterior measures, yet I am convinced that, if he had not acted with the judgment, promptness, and determination that he did, rivers of sympathizing blood would have flowed.

The alarming state of things in Lower Canada, the

violent measures occurring in the State of Maine, and the evident transition from a friendly feeling along the borders of the St. Lawrence to a hostile one, determined him; and on being applied to by Sir John Colborne for military assistance, he at once and without hesitation sent every soldier,—except about twenty Artillerymen, who were left at Kingston, Toronto, Niagara, and Amherstburgh,—to Montreal.

Papineau awoke from his golden dream of Empire. The lictors, with their fasces round his throne, fled, and were broken; and he put me in mind of the story of a Yankee, Giles Jolt, who having sympathized to a certain extent with the yellow radiance and sweets of a bottle of "rale Jamaky," over which he had been, like a second Alnaschar, counting up the gains to be derived from certain wooden nutmegs and deal pumpkin-seeds, with which he was about to "pedlar" a little amongst the simple Canadians, found himself overcome with and borne down by spiritual grief, and staggering to the door late on a dark night, comfortably seated himself in his ox-cart and gave the usual go-a-head scream to the "critturs." Vain were the words, vain the application of the whip. "Why I *swan*," says the Yankee, "it beats all natur; tarnal hides, why don't ye stretch out? Old Patience is setting up for me, and burst your barrels, wont ye budge?" After many fruitless admonitions and sundry strange oaths, the pedlar found his oxen were anywhere but where they should have been, for some friend, more *cute* than he, had stolen them. Day at length broke, and with Aurora Jonathan's wits slowly broke forth also, and he began to rub his eyes and reason thus:

"Now if I'm the *genu-wine, rael,* Erastes Corncob, darn it, I've lost my team, but if I'm any other fellow in all creation, I've found a cart."

Papineau found a cart, for he very soon decamped and left his team with anybody that chose to drive it. In fact, he took refuge in that country where Papineaus were then at a premium, leaving his native soil where they were just then at a discount.

It is but justice, however, to this patriot to say that he had previously and personally defied the Government, and had completely thrown off the mask, so that Lord Gosford had been obliged to dismiss him from his public offices with eighteen other magistrates and thirty-five militia officers. Papineau, as already stated, wrote to the Secretary a most violent, contemptuous, and insulting letter, which had thrown the country into a ferment. The laws could no longer be administered with impartiality, and the French Jurymen, who generally could neither read nor write, forgot their oaths and acquitted or condemned the Loyalists just as it suited their purposes. In the district bordering on the Ottawa, called the Lake of the Two Mountains, the Magistrates were set aside and the people had appointed Justices of the Peace, Militia Officers, and an emporium of their own; those who had been dismissed by the Governor-general, for taking part with the Sons of Liberty, were restored by the populace, and a Proclamation had been issued in which Papineau had declared that "all ties were severed with an unfeeling Mother country, and that the glorious fate of disenthralling their native soil from all authority, except that of the brave democratic

spirit residing in it, awaited the young men of all the Colonies."

There was a great deal more of the usual claptrap about fighting for life and liberty, and it ended by an open, active, and extensive training of the peasantry to arms,—so that in that district, above-named, the British rule had entirely ceased even before the outbreak at Montreal: and at a convention of six counties adjacent to the St. Lawrence, the Richelieu, and the Yamaska Rivers, the most threatening and violent appeals to the people had been made, and Papineau declared the Chief of the proposed Republic, whilst an address was printed and circulated throughout Lower Canada, calling on the *enfans du sol*, to be prepared as a man to support with effect, all attempts to deprive them of the prospect of enfranchisement.

It was now the duty of Lord Gosford to take energetic measures; the loyal people had been driven from their farms, or compelled outwardly to subscribe to treasonable acts, and it would no longer do to trifle with Papineau. Accordingly two Regiments of the Line, the 83rd and the 85th, were sent for from Nova Scotia; and Sir Francis Head sent the two Companies of Artillery, the 24th and the 66th Regiments, being the whole of the military force in Upper Canada, to the assistance of Commander-in-chief, Sir John Colborne; and the loyal inhabitants of Quebec, Montreal, the Eastern Townships, and everywhere throughout Lower Canada, embodied themselves as Volunteers, to preserve the peace and support the Queen and her Government.

Amidst all this preparation, the Revolutionists were most active in the immediate vicinity of Montreal. But the Roman Catholic Bishop of that Diocese published a "Pastoral Letter," exhorting all Canadians to withdraw from any connection with the disturbers of the public welfare; whilst the clergy, generally throughout the province, took an energetic and firm stand against Papineau and his rebel followers.

But matters had gone too far for the followers of Papineau, or for him, to recede, and at length Lord Gosford ordered warrants to be issued to attach Louis Joseph Papineau, and twenty-five of his chiefs for high treason. The rebellion now broke out in earnest; and the armed peasantry appeared ready to rescue their leaders everywhere, so that nine only at first were apprehended.

The first actual attack upon the military happened on the 7th November, 1837. The Custom-house at St. John's having been threatened, Captain Glasgow, of the Royal Artillery, with fourteen or fifteen of the Montreal Volunteer Cavalry, was directed to patrol the road, in its vicinage. He was attacked by a very large band of armed men at St. Athanase, and ordered to retire; but he resolutely kept possession of the bridge over the river, until reinforced by a company of the line.

On the 10th November, M. Demarais, the postmaster of St. John's, and M. Davignon, a doctor, having been arrested for treason, were conveyed by a detachment of Volunteer Cavalry towards Montreal; but near Longueil, the armed peasantry, three hundred, opened a heavy fire from the fences lining the

road, wounded several officers and troopers,* and rescued the prisoners.

On the 11th, Colonel Wetherall, of the Royal Regiment, with four companies, two field pieces, and some Volunteer Cavalry, scoured the whole country, from Longueil to Chambly, dispersed several armed bands, and took seven prisoners, meeting with no serious obstacles but the state of the roads.

Assemblages of the peasantry on the banks of the Richelieu now took place, principally at St. Charles and St. Denis. At the former place they seized upon the château or mansion of Monsieur Debartzch, Seigneur or Lord of the Manor, who had withdrawn himself from Papineau, and had adhered to, and supported Lord Gosford's administration. He was obliged to fly from his recent friends on horseback, to save his life. General Brown, the Rebel leader, regaled his great army of 1,400 men with the Seigneur's beef and mutton, and converted his house into a fortress, by cutting down the trees of his manor.

At St. Denis, the house and distillery of Dr. Wolfred Nelson was similarly fortified, by his own consent, however, as Commander-in-chief, and 1,500 rebels appeared there in arms.

Numerous arrests continued to be made in Lower Canada. It would be useless now to give lists of the French Canadian leaders or their followers, who were arrested during the troubles, and it only remains to repeat that the conduct of these infatuated people was

* Lieut. Ermatinger, Mr. Sharp, Mr. John P. Ashton, Mr. John Molson, Jun., and Mr. J. Woodhouse.

strongly contrasted with that of the Roman Catholic Clergy, and that of the Old French families, as well as a very large proportion of the *habitans* or peasantry; whilst it is now known that several of the persons arrested had been made mere tools of, and did not intend to go the lengths of those under whose advice they had acted.

Papineau, the hero of the drama, had ingloriously fled with General Thomas Storrow Brown, and General Nelson; and Sir John Colborne having received information that these Chiefs of the Insurgents had taken up a position in the heart of the disaffected counties, on the Richelieu, lost no time in preparations (although the season of rains, and snows, and frosts, had set in), to dislodge them.

Montreal had now a respectable and increasing Volunteer force organizing or organized, which left the Commander-in-chief at liberty to employ the few regular troops to better advantage then in garrisoning an open town.

Sir John Colbourne made Montreal the head-quarters and centre of operations, and with only the scanty regular force I have already noticed at his command, prepared to move from this point, which was nearly in the middle of the Insurgent District, upon any place which should require attack or support.*

* The following is a statement of the population of this important city, according to the last census at that time (1837):

Natives of England	2,994
Natives of Ireland	8,839
Natives of Scotland	2,645

Accordingly, finding that St. Charles and St. Denis, two large Canadian villages on the Richelieu, well situated, and capable of holding the line of communication between the St. Lawrence and the United States, were occupied by the rebels, he directed a simultaneous movement upon them from opposite quarters,—Sorel, at the mouth of the river Richelieu, and Chambly, about half-way along its course from the frontier of the United States. These separate expeditions were entrusted to the Deputy Quartermaster-general, Colonel the Honourable C. Gore, and to Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall, commanding the Royals.

Colonel Gore was ordered to embark on board the *St. George* steamboat, at Montreal, to land at Sorel, and to march upon St. Denis from Sorel, with two companies of the 24th, one of the 32nd, two guns and a howitzer of the Royal Artillery, with a small party of the Montreal Volunteer Dragoons. Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall was directed to move down the river with four companies of the Royals, a detachment of the 66th, and two field-pieces, upon St. Charles, accompanied by two Magistrates, to legalize the arrests which were directed to be made of the chiefs of the revolt.

St. Denis is seven miles nearer the St. Lawrence

Natives of Canada of French origin....	16,999	
Natives of Canada of British origin....	7,411	
Natives of the Continent of Europe....	184	
Natives of the United States.....	513	
Aliens	462	
	40,047	
In 1851	50,000	—Editor.

than St. Charles, and is on the right bank of the river Richelieu, and sixteen miles from Sorel or William Henry, whilst St. Charles was a little more from Chambly.

At ten o'clock, on the night of the 22nd of November, amidst incessant torrents of freezing rain, and up to their knees in the frozen mud, the troops under Colonel Gore, who was accompanied by Lieutenant-colonel Hughes, commanding the 24th, and two companies of the 66th, from Sorel, moved by a back road on St. Denis, in order to check the rebels, who were posted strongly at the intermediate village of St. Ours, and to avoid several bridges. Such was the state of the country from the condition of the climate at that advanced season, that the march occupied eleven hours and a half, or not quite a mile and a half an hour; and the mud was so deep and tenacious that it pulled off continually the men's boots and mocassins, whilst the cavalry were employed in driving away working parties, who had destroyed six bridges, and were destroying another; these bridges had therefore to be repaired, before the gun could be got over the small gullies and streams. They arrived before St. Denis at half-past nine on the morning of the 23rd, exhausted and fatigued. As soon as they appeared, a heavy fire from the houses on the north-side of the village was opened upon them, whilst a large stone building, three stories high, was so strong and so well occupied, that the fire directed against it from the howitzer, commanded by Lieutenant Newcomen, of the Royal Artillery, made but little impression. Captain Markham, of the

32nd,* with his light company, however, dislodged the rebels from several of the houses in the village. Cornet Sweeny, of the Montreal Dragoons, was of essential service, by preventing the destruction of bridges, and securing early intelligence.

The position chosen by the rebels was excellent, and the stone house was so well flanked by others, and so well barricaded, that all attempts to carry it failed; whilst the communication with the opposite bank of the river being open to the enemy, they were continually reinforced; but their loss was severe, and amongst the slain was M. Ovide Perrault, a member of the House of Assembly. The brave Captain Markham was severely wounded in three places, whilst taking possession of a fortified house opposite to the stone building, at the point of the bayonet; and at length the order was given to retreat.

Colonel Gore retired upon St. Ours, where he expected to meet the steamboat *Varennes* with supplies; but she had been intercepted. The howitzer was abandoned and spiked, after seven hours of toil to get it on, and the troops returned to Sorel on the morning of the 24th, at eleven o'clock, after having found that the steamboat *Varennes*, which was to take the troops, had been fired at from St. Ours, and obliged to put back. One officer was severely wounded; 1 sergeant and 2 men of the 24th, 2 men of the 32nd, and 1 of the 66th, killed, 9 soldiers wounded, and 6 missing. This was the first reverse.

* Recently highly distinguished in India, now commanding the 32nd, and a Companion of the Bath.—EDITOR.

The detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall was more fortunate. He marched from Chambly, and crossing the upper ferry also found the roads in the worst possible condition, so that he halted at St. Hilaire, and sent back to Chambly for another company of the Royals, dispatching an officer of the Montreal Cavalry for further orders from head-quarters; but his messenger not having been able to return before nine o'clock on the morning of the 26th of November, and having heard that the basin at Chambly had been frozen over, and every possibility arising of his retreat being cut off in that case, he moved boldly on until he arrived within a mile of St. Charles, when his advance was momentarily checked by a fire from the left bank of the Richelieu—by which a soldier of the Royals was wounded—and from a barn immediately in his front. The barn was carried, and burnt. On reaching to within two hundred and fifty yards of the rebel position, he found it a stockaded work, strongly occupied, and from which a heavy and continued fire was opened upon his force from two field guns and musketry. Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall, after making breaches in the pallisading, immediately ordered the position to be stormed, which was effected in gallant style, and every house burned, excepting the one which belonged to Mr. Debartzch.

In this spirited affair, which occupied an hour, the Royal Artillery, under Captain Glasgow, did their duty nobly; and Major Warde, of the Royals, carried the left of the enemy's line of works at the bayonet's point, whilst the brave Montreal Cavalry, under

Captain David, conspicuously distinguished themselves.

The loss of the troops was 1 sergeant of the Royals, 2 soldiers of the Royal and 66th Regiments killed, and 18 men wounded, whilst the rebels suffered very severely, between 200 and 300 having been killed, but only 16 prisoners * were made. Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall stated in his report that he counted 56 dead bodies left on the field, and that many more were destroyed in the burning houses.†

It is stated by Colonel Gore that the loss of the rebels, in his operation against St. Denis, was 100, and that their force there was supposed to be near 3,000, but certainly 1,500.

Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall does not state the amount of the force opposed to him; but Sir John Colborne, in his dispatch, observed that the enclosed work was defended by 1,500 men.

Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall returned to Chambly on the 28th, having first visited Point Olivier, where a large body of the peasantry, under Samere, were assembled to cut off his retreat. Here he met them once more, and they had formed an entrenchment with abattis, and had two guns mounted on carts. They fled immediately, and he arrived at his station with twenty-five prisoners.

The Commander-in-chief, determined to crush the rebellion in the bud, again directed Colonel Gore to

* Between thirty and forty were, however, afterwards secured.

† At St. Charles a liberty-pole was set up, with the Cap of Liberty, and a tablet, inscribed "à Papineau par ses concitoyens reconnaissans!"

leave Montreal for Sorel with eight companies and three field-pieces, for an attack on St. Denis. That officer reached St. Denis on the 2nd of December, 1837, with one company of the 24th, four of the 32nd, two of the 66th, and one of the 83rd, and three guns, but found it had been abandoned. Here he ordered General Wolfred Nelson's house to be destroyed, as well as the fortified stone-house and all the defences, and leaving Major Reid, of the 32nd, to garrison the place with three companies and a gun, he moved on with the other five and two guns, on the 4th of December, to St. Charles, whence he marched on St. Hyacinthe, in hopes of taking Monsieur Papineau, whose head-quarters there were duly searched; but the bird had flown. Having secured, by competent detachments, St. Charles, St. Denis, and St. Ours, he returned to Sorel on the 7th, having recovered the howitzer which had been abandoned on the former expedition, and one iron gun and a quantity of ammunition, which the rebels had left behind them at St. Denis, were destroyed.

Sir John Colborne now directed Lieutenant-colonel Hughes, of the 24th, with ten companies, to attack a large body of rebels which had taken post at St. Amand, and had invaded Canada from Swanton, in the United States, under the command, as it was said, of Bouchette and Gagnon.

The Loyal Volunteers, of the Missisquoi settlement, which is on that frontier, had very cleverly settled the business before he could march from St. John's, and had completely routed and dispersed them.*

* In honour to the loyal Militia of Lower Canada,—of their brave

Amongst the prisoners taken at St. Charles, were M. Duvert, a notary; Durocher, a merchant, and his clerk Lemaire; and C. Drolet, R. Desrivieres, and Dr. Beaubien. Papineau crossed the river to St. Marc just as the troops appeared, and General Brown retreated soon afterwards. The two heavy guns taken were spiked and thrown into the Richelieu, and the

conduct, particularly at Moore's Corner, when an attempt was made to lay waste the whole frontier near the north-west of the State of Vermont, I shall give the letter which was written on this occasion entire, as it will answer for a hundred other similar displays of British spirit on that frontier, where midnight burnings reddened the winters' sky for three years, so warm were the feelings of the borderers of Vermont towards their Canadian brethren:

"*Montreal, Dec. 20th*, 1837.

"SIR,—Colonel Knowlton and Captain Kemp, having reported to Sir John Colborne, Commander of the Forces, the gallant conduct of the Militiamen of Caldwell's Manor, of the escort of the Shefford Loyal Volunteers, and also of the Missisquoi Militiamen, in their decisive attack on the band of rebels, which they intercepted on its march near Mr. Hiram Moore's farm, His Excellency took the earliest opportunity of conveying through those officers, to all those loyal men, his cordial thanks for the important services which they have rendered to Her Majesty and to all her faithful subjects in this province.

"His Excellency now desires you will accept his sincere thanks for the prominent part taken by yourself and the loyalists under your immediate direction on that occasion; and I have it likewise in command to assure you, that he will not fail to communicate to Her Majesty's Government how much we are all indebted to the prompt movement and combined energies of the loyal men who defeated and dispersed the rebels in that successful affair, and thus frustrated their daring design of laying waste the country on their route to the Richelieu.

"I have &c.,

"W. P. CHRISTIE, *Provincial Military Secretary.*

"P. H. MOORE, Esq.,
"*Bedford, Stanbridge.*"

fortified house was found excellently supplied with provision, mostly plunder from the owner.

Soon afterwards M. C. S. Cherrier and M. Toussaint Peltier were arrested; and warrants against E. Knight, who had absconded, and others of note, were sent out.

Two thousand Volunteers had been armed and equipped at Montreal; and Colonel Jones of Missisquoi, had embodied his corps of Militia and Volunteers, to guard the Vermont frontier at Bedford,—which, as already noticed, he did most effectually.

Colonels D. Macdonell, Fraser, Chisholm, and A. Macdonell, volunteered, with regiments of Highlanders from Glengarry, to march at any moment into Lower Canada; as did Colonel Reade of the Leeds Regiment, Colonel Burritt of the Grenville Militia, Captain Graham of the Perth Volunteer Artillery; and, in short, every Militia corps bordering on or near the boundary between the provinces.

Sir John Colborne now turned his attention to the proceedings of the rebel chiefs on the north side of Montreal; and on the 13th of December marched on St. Eustache, with his whole disposable force, to put down the revolt in the Grand Brulé, in the district of the Lake of the Two Mountains, under Chenier and Girod. He reached St. Eustache on the 14th, and found 1,200 men in possession, under the leaders named above; with Scott, Girouard, and De Maichelle or Dumouchelle, who were the chiefs of the revolted district.

Before we proceed to give a sketch of the different affairs, we shall revert a little to the leading characters of this foolish rebellion.

Papineau having deserted, the command of the rebel

forces on the Richelieu devolved upon Generals Brown, Wolfred Nelson, and Desrivieres; that of the invasion from Swanton we have seen was under the direction of Bouchette and Gagnon.

The operations of Colonel Gore, and the march of Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall, had paralyzed Papineau's immediate leaders at St. Denis and St. Charles; and the loyal Militia and Volunteers of Missisquoi and Shefford settled the affair on the Vermont frontier, had defeated Bouchette and Gagnon, before they had crossed the frontier at St. Armand more than one mile, and had enabled Sir John Colborne to withdraw a large force from the post of observation at St. John's, and to carry his operations into the heart of the enemy's country, the very focus of rebellion.

A most melancholy tale has here to be succinctly told. Lieutenant Weir, of the 32nd Regiment, had been sent on the 22nd of November from Montreal by land to Sorel, with despatches for the officer commanding at that post, to co-operate with Colonel Gore with two companies of the 66th. The roads were in such a state that this unfortunate gentleman (who travelled in a *calêche*) did not arrive at Sorel until soon after Colonel Gore had left it, having marched upon St. Charles, by the road of St. Denis, with his whole force. He forthwith hired another *calêche*, driven by a French Canadian, named La Vallée, and set off to join the troops. But he took the lower road, by mistake, instead of the upper one, which Colonel Gore had chosen to avoid St. Ours; thus he passed the troops without seeing them, and got to St. Denis about seven in the morning. Here Dr. Nelson ordered him to be made

prisoner, and immediately prepared to receive Colonel Gore's attack,—which he had not anticipated; nor was St. Denis the object of the march, but St. Charles, for the arrest of some notorious rebel leaders.

Lieutenant Weir was pinioned, and placed under charge of Captain Jalbert, two men named Migueault, another named Lecour, and a driver, a lad called Gustin, and hurried off in Dr. Nelson's waggon to St. Charles. When he had gone a short distance, the cords with which his arms were tied caused so much pain that he insisted on their being loosened; and a dispute arose, which ended in his jumping out and getting under the waggon to avoid the blows aimed at him. He was then fired at twice with pistols and wounded severely in the groin and back, and numerous sabre-cuts were inflicted on his head and hands. In this state he was dragged from under the waggon, and butchered in the most barbarous manner with every instrument of destruction which could be employed, and his body thrown into the Richelieu and kept under the water by large stones. Here it was discovered by Lieutenant Griffin, 32nd;* and having been examined by Dr. Mc Gregor, the Assistant-surgeon of the Regiment, was carefully removed to Montreal for interment,—where a public meeting was held to express detestation of the deed and to raise a monument to his memory.

A loyal French Canadian, Chartrand (a volunteer of St. John's), was murdered also in the most cold-blooded manner; and it will scarcely be credited that

* Now the very efficient Deputy Assistant Adjutant-general at Montreal.—EDITOR.

Jalbert escaped, and that the murderers were invariably acquitted by juries of their countrymen, although the clearest evidence appeared to convict them.

Dr. Wolfred Nelson was fully exonerated, by the evidence and journals of the day, from participating in the barbarous treatment of Lieutenant Weir, to whom he had shown kindness and was removing to a place of safety; he was also very kind to three or four wounded men, who were taken prisoners at St. Denis.

We have spoken much of Monsieur Papineau; who was, however, very little spoken of in Canada after he decamped. Let us now see who the other chiefs of the conspiracy were.

Dr. Robert Nelson,*—who published a proclamation, declaring Canada a Republic,—first opened the eyes of the French Canadians as to what they might expect from the sympathy of the United States. He gave no hopes of support to the Roman Catholic religion; he declared that all the feudal nonsense must for ever be put a stop to; and he, in fact, asserted just what Brother Jonathan would have asserted had he entered Canada *en conquerant.*

Dr. Wolfred Nelson was by nature fitted for better things "than treason, stratagems, and spoils." In person he was the best-looking of the rebels, tall, with marked features, and rather *distingue;* whilst he possessed a brave, manly disposition, and had not that spiteful, unforgiving revenge which made some of the others so very hateful. He was the son of a respectable Englishman, who had kept a school at William Henry; and being of a lively intelligent disposition, and

* Brother of Dr. Wolfred Nelson.

having married a French Canadian, Wolfred Nelson settled at St. Charles,—where he was looked up to as the support and prime-mover of the factions. Here he possessed a large distillery; and here, early in October, 1837, he presided at a meeting,—when the Delegates from six counties bound themselves solemnly to wage war for the overthrow of the British dominion, and invited the soldiers of the Queen to desert and join their colours.

Made the Generalissimo of Papineau's forces, Nelson (bearing a name which ought to have taught him that England "Expects every man to do his duty" to his Sovereign)—he was carried away by false promises, by vanity, and by ambition, until he finished his career of folly and disappointment in the jail at Montreal;—a warning and a lesson to all who attempt to rule the peasantry of a peaceable country subservient to their passion for renown. He, with all his faults, was the best of the *soi-disant* Generals of the Canadian Army of Liberation. I am sorry I have not kept more than one of the absurd Proclamations of Dr. R. Nelson, they would have been episodes in his history; but I shall hereafter give that, declaring the New Canadian Republic to be "one and indivisible."

General Brown was a totally different character. He was of Nova Scotian (?) birth; and having tried various ways of going ahead, he was unfortunate in business, just before he appeared invested with Papineau's truncheon as another general.

Finding St. Denis and St. Charles, and other affairs, rather hotter work than pedling, he, to use an Americanism, *bunked*, or, in other words, cut the concern; and it is said afterwards figured in Florida.

Another adventurer who held a command in the patriot cause, was the son of a most worthy man, who held one of the most respectable offices under Government in Lower Canada, was Colonel of Militia for a long series of years, and whose loyalty and faith have never been questioned. His son was, I think, a lawyer in respectable circumstances; but, like many other young Canadians, forgot that his family had owed their all to the British Government, and, carried away by false prophets, he sacrificed all for his country as he thought,—not perhaps reflecting that his country would be much more likely to suffer than to gain by such a course. He was evidently a victim of Papineau's. He was wounded at Missisquoi, lodged in prison, and banished afterwards.

General Scott, who commanded at St. Eustache, was a shopkeeper in that village, and the son of a baker at Montreal. He had been nominated *chef* with Girouard, for the county of the Lake of the Two Mountains; but was found utterly inadequate. His *confrère* Girouard (an ex-M. P. P., who afterwards made such a stir in Canada, from having had office proffered him) was a tall, dark-featured man, with black hair and eyes, and was a notary. He felt himself also inadequate to undertake military operations, and from the answer which he gave declining office, was aware of the public opinion respecting him, having been well known as a thorough-going Revolutionist, who desired nothing less than the *Republique Canadienne.*

He was taken prisoner after the defeat at Grand Brulé, a reward of £500 having been offered for him,

in consequence of some seditious declamations he had made, as well as that he was truly the great cause of the rebellious acts in the districts north of Montreal. He and Scott were taken together, and confined in the jail at Montreal; from which he was subsequently released and pardoned.

Dumouchelle was a respectable and affluent merchant and land-owner of St. Benoit, of whom little is known. He was old, and one of those infatuated men, who could see nothing beyond the probabilities of being a noted Republican leader.

Girod, an unhappy Swiss adventurer, had figured in two or three of the South American Revolutionary wars, and was coming into notice from a proposed scheme to advance Canadian farming; which not meeting encouragement, he headed the rebels at Grand Brulé, and flying from them when a price was put on his head, ended his existence by suicide. His career appears to have been one of singular folly, he affected the style and equipage of dictator, and Generalissimo, and, from his South American notions he loved to appear in buccaneer style, and on horseback; a fine gray mare was his charger, and this was stolen from Monsieur Dumont, a loyal Canadian. Of Desrivieres and Gagnon there is less to say; for although they stepped out in the ranks of the Patriots' forces to lead, they were comparatively insignificant and unheeded.

But there were many others who, without such prominent military enthusiasm, were not less active in the revolt. Of these, Dr. O'Callaghan, the editor of the *Vindicator*, an Irish Canadian Republican paper;

Viger, a lawyer of Quebec; Dr. Coté, the President of the Convention of L'Acadie; and two or threee legal gentlemen, were the most conspicuous. Dr. O'Callaghan fled with Papineau, as also did a clever man, who had studied English, and who had distinguished himself like Mackenzie, by ostentatiously displaying the tri-coloured emblem before the Governor-general; and another, the nephew of Papineau, who was one of the most clever young lawyers in Lower Canada. Louis Viger, was brother to Denis B. Viger, the gentleman deputed to detail the grievances of the ninety-two Resolutions to the Colonial-office, was also a clever but an older lawyer, and a person of much consequence, both from his talents and his address, and President of the bank of the people; he was afterwards confined in jail for fifteen months. Viger is a clever man, with a bright keen eye, aquiline nose, and drooping lip, and is very active and bustling in his habits. The year 1837, closed, in Lower Canada, by the events I am now engaged in relating.

Sir John Colbourne, after detaching Major Townsend with a part of the 24th, and the Volunteers of St. Andrews to St. Benoit, moved upon St. Eustache, and crossed the North Branch of the Ottawa, near St. Rose, on the 14th December, three miles below the village, with two brigades, and six field pieces; the Montreal Volunteer Cavalry, and the Montreal Rifle Corps, sending Captain Globinsky, with his Volunteer Militia to skirmish.

Colonel Maitland's brigade, consisting of the 32nd and 83rd, with the Montreal Cavalry, followed by Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall's brigade (the 2nd Battalion

of the Royal Regiment, the Royal Montreal Rifles, and Globinsky's Volunteers) advanced to the attack, with Major Jackson, and the Royal Artillery under his orders.

Girod, who had the chief command, opened his fire from the houses of the town, which was soon silenced, and he fled; and Major Jackson, taking up a position in front of the fortified church and houses, and the advanced parties of the 32nd, 83rd, and Rifle Corps having cleared the houses and walls, he battered the church and adjoining buildings. The church, crowded with people, was soon rendered untenable; and a scene of slaughter ensued which may be readily imagined, when it is known that the rebels were completely surrounded from the able and cool measures adopted by the Commander-in-chief. The church and houses, including the *presbytere* or priest's house, and the nunnery, and those of Scott and Dr. Chenier, the rebel leaders, were on fire, and those who could not escape fell a prey to the flames. After an hour's firing, at 280 yards distance, and continued volleys of musketry from the Royals and Riflemen in the neighbouring houses, and that owing to the determined resistance made there and in the seignior's house, it was necessary to assault and carry the church and presbytery by the bayonet.

In this action,—the most determined of the whole rebellion,—the troops lost 1 private killed, 1 corporal, and 7 wounded, whilst Major Gugy, the provincial aide-de-camp, received a severe wound whilst engaged in a storming party; 118 prisoners were made,—but the number of killed and wounded of the enemy

was never ascertained, but must have been enormous. Amongst the killed was Dr. J. O. Chenier, who was found dead in the yard of the church. F. Peltier fled with Girod.

Lieutenant-colonel Eden, Deputy Adjutant-general, Colonel Gore, Deputy Quartermaster-general, the personal staff, Majors Jackson and Macbean of the Royal Artillery, and Captain Foster of the Royal Engineers, received the honour of a most favourable mention of their services in the despatch to the Horse-guards; and the Volunteers of Montreal having taken the garrison duty of that city, and thus enabled Sir John Colborne to quell this rebellious district, were most honourably noticed.

The remainder of the rebel army, and the village of St. Benoit, surrendered. All the leaders fled; Sir John Colborne, after taking up his head-quarters at the house of Girouard (where papers, containing lists of the leaders, &c., were found,) returned to Montreal: and thus ended the melancholy drama of the Grand Brulé.

Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall of the Royal, Major Reid of the 32nd, Lieutenant-colonel the Honourable H. Dundas of the 83rd, Major Warde of the Royal, Captain Howell of the Royal Artillery, Lieutenant Ormsby of the Royal, were all distinguished and prominent actors in these scenes; and nothing could exceed the steadiness and good conduct of the Montreal Cavalry, the Montreal Rifles, and Globinsky's Volunteers, or of the Militia aide-de-camp Major Gugy.*

* Afterwards Colonel and Adjutant-general of Militia, a Member of Parliament, &c.—EDITOR.

The rebel leader Scott had hid himself in a farm-house, five miles from the scene of action, and was taken by five gallant fellows of the Montreal Cavalry who went after him.

Sir John Colborne, finding that his vigorous measures had completely unhinged all Papineau's deep-laid measures, and that the peasantry were desirous to "unthread the rude web of rebellion" after his return to Montreal, immediately detached a portion of the 24th Regiment, under Major Townsend, to open the communication with Sir Francis Head in Upper Canada; which was now the seat of the demonstration in favour of Papineau.

The memorable year 1837 saw, amidst the snows of a Canadian winter, a population in arms for and against Monarchical Government;—Christmas-day beheld the Republican leaders almost everywhere fugitive, and the sympathizing American borderers at a loss whether they should or should not assist such a deplorable cause.

Thus ended the year in Lower Canada. I must now speak of subjects relating to Upper Canada, with the details of which I am better acquainted, and shall therefore devote a chapter to the outbreak in that province, which although embracing only the events of three or four days in 1837, were to us, who were the army of four or five officers and twenty men, of the most intense interest.

NOTE.

In concluding this chapter, I must in justice say that loyal meetings of many French Canadians were held at Quebec, Montreal, &c. The Roman Catholic clergy strenuously denounced the Rebellion, whilst all the influential Seigneurs supported the Government.

The Citizens of American origin, resident in Montreal, also held a meeting expressive of their utter abhorrence of the rebellion: and in fact, as before stated, the worst portion of the disaffected were to be found in the districts between the Yamaska and Richelieu Rivers;* where something of a similar spirit had long displayed itself, and where, during the last American war, it is said the enemy had found means to seduce several persons from their allegiance, who had been consequently obliged, at its termination, to expatriate themselves.

* As bad a portion of the disaffected was found at St. Eustache, Grand Brulé, &c.—Editor.

CHAPTER X.

Rebellion in Upper Canada, in November and December, 1837.

"Ye gentlemen of England who live at home at ease," how little can you feel the situation in which your countrymen were placed in the winter of 1837, in Canada.

I am writing this, full of the recollections of that year, in a house, which all my endeavours to keep the keen tooth of the wintry winds out of, fail in accomplishing; here, on the 29th of March, we have the snow two feet deep, and the thermometer in the middle of the day, down to 25 degrees. Truly, therefore, shall I fancy myself, in 1837, again passing night after night in the depth of a northern arctic winter without rest, and in continual excitement, from the uncertain nature of the coming events, obliged to face the rigours of the sky at all hours, with 25 degrees below instead of above zero, often indicated by the heat-measurer.

If I speak, therefore, gentle reader, *con amore*, and a little too much in the first person singular, pray set it

down to anything else than a desire to intrude myself personally on your attention, but with that unavoidable difficulty before you of separating an actor in a drama from the matter of the piece, I hope to find at least that I shall not overact my part.

Voltaire begins his Romance of Charles the Twelfth, which was put into the hands of every boy in the Military College at Woolwich, and is therefore, of course, one of their reminiscences with "Sweden and Norway compose a kingdom," and he then talks of the *crepuscule* of the *Semiramis du Nord*, and in short opens his history with a paragraph, in which the rigours of a hyperborean climate, its short twilight-day, and its inevitable inconveniences as a field of military action, are bravely depicted. I might do the same; for, although no admirer of Voltaire, my subject is very like his, as far as the mere field goes, though neither Papineau nor Bidwell were either Charles the Twelfths or Czar Peters, yet they were like those conquerors in one or two respects.

Charles was called Demirbash, by the Turks, which signifies a man who fancies his head made of iron and that he may run a muck without any danger of having his skull split. Neither Bidwell nor Papineau calculated upon that contingency any more than Charles, but from vastly different motives.

Peter and Charles both desired to make their names famous by founding a new empire,—so did Bidwell and Papineau. Here the comparison ceases; for my early Woolwich friends, the Emperor and the King, did not decline fighting for renown.

We have seen that Sir Francis Head had taken the determined course of depriving himself of all the troops, and of placing his government entirely under the protection of the people.

I was then at Toronto, having returned, as before stated, in August. September and October passed off quietly, as far as outward appearances went. The Lieutenant-governor had refused to place Bidwell on the Bench, and to restore Mr. Ridout to the situations of District-judge and Colonel of Militia. He had also remonstrated with the Home-government upon its non-compliance with his appointments of Mr. Hagerman and Mr. Draper as Attorney and Solicitor-general, whilst he had also disapproved of the Receiver-general, Mr. Dunn, being received (in which, however, the worthy Ex-governor was not *au fait*) at the Colonial-office, instead of Mr. Draper, a Special-messenger upon the Financial Difficulties of the Province, whom he had sent to England.

He had published the Instructions of Lord Gosford and the Commissioners, he had dismissed or rather received the resignation of a New Council, desirous of responsible government, or, in fact, desirous of being Viceroys over him, and, differing entirely with the views of the Lower Canada Commissioners, had tendered his resignation a second time.

Such was Sir Francis Bond Head's position when, in October, the Commander of the Forces, Sir John Colborne,* wrote to him for some troops, he sent

* The answer of Sir Francis is worth preservation. Extracted from the papers laid before Parliament, as follows:

all, and Sir John Colborne must then have had an equally strong reliance upon the loyalty of the Upper

Sir F. Head's communication to Sir J. Colborne, making a full disclosure of his views in sending all the regular troops out of the Upper Province.

"*Toronto, Oct.* 31, 1837.

"Dear Sir John,—On the receipt of your dispatch of the 24th, which I received yesterday, I immediately begged Colonel Foster to carry your wishes into effect, by sending you down the 24th Regiment. Colonel Foster told me you were good enough to propose that a guard should be left for me and for the stores and commissariat, but I begged to give up my sentry and orderlies, and in fact to send you the whole of the 24th, which is stationed here.

"I will now endeavour to explain to you the course of policy I am desirous to pursue. I am sure you will be of opinion that a great deal, if not the whole, of the agitation which is carried on in Lower Canada, is intended to have the immediate effect of intimidating the two Houses of Parliament in England, by making them believe that republicanism is indigenous to the soil of America, and that nothing else will grow there.

"But Mr. Papineau knows quite well that this assertion will not be considered as proved unless Upper Canada joins in it, and accordingly Mr. Mackenzie and his gang, under his directions, are doing everything in their power here to get up anything that may be made to pass for agitation in the London market.

"This province is, as far as my experience goes, more loyal and more tranquil than any part of England; however, this does not matter to Mr. Mackenzie, provided he can get up a few sets of violent resolutions, which you know very well are easily effected.

"Now, what I desire to do is completely to upset Mr. Papineau, so far as Upper Canada is concerned, by proving to the people in England that this province requires no troops at all, and consequently that it is perfectly tranquil.

"I consider that this evidence will be of immense importance, as it at once shows the conduct of Lower Canada to be factious; whereas, could it, under colour of a few Radical meetings here, be asserted that the two provinces were on the brink of revolution, it would, as you know, be argued as an excuse for granting the demands of Mr. Papineau. I consider it of immense importance, practically, to show to the Canadas that loyalty produces tranquillity, and that disloyalty not only brings troops into the province, but also produces civil war.

Canadians, for we find, in perusing the Narrative afterwards published by Sir Francis Head, that Sir John

"To attain the object I have long had in view, I deemed it advisable not to retain, either for myself or for the stores, the few men we have been accustomed to require; for I felt I could not completely throw myself, as I wished to do, on the inhabitants of the province so long as there remained troops in the garrison.

"I cannot, of course, explain to you all the reasons I have for my conduct, but I can assure you that I have deeply reflected upon it, and well know the materials I have to deal with.

"The detachment of artillery and the barrack-master, who, I understand, is to take up his quarters in the barracks, will be, I believe, sufficient to take care of the barrack stores. The arms I have put under the charge of the Mayor, which I am confident will arouse a very excellent feeling, which will immediately spread over the province. The military chest will be deposited for safe custody in the vaults of the Upper Canada Bank, where it will be much safer than in its present remote situation.

"I inclose you a copy of a communication I have addressed to the Mayor, and also to Mr. Foote, which will explain the arrangements I have made, for which I am quite prepared to take upon myself all the responsibility I have incurred.

"I have now to ask you to assist me further in the policy I am pursuing, by removing the 24th Regiment from Kingston, so as to take them out of Upper Canada. I have not the slightest occasion for them, particularly in that direction, where all is nothing but loyalty; but if they remain there, the moral I am desirous to attain will be spoiled; for it will be argued in England that all which has been done in Upper Canada, is merely that the troops have been moved from the Midland to the Eastern district. I am afraid you may find difficulty in finding room for them in the Lower province; but if, by any exertion, you can effect my wishes, I feel confident you will do so.

"It is with reluctance I have incurred the responsibilities I have mentioned; I know the arrangements I have made are somewhat irregular, but I feel confident the advantages arising from them will be much greater than the disadvantages.

"What I am about to do will arouse loyal feeling throughout the province, at a moment when it is of inestimable importance.

"Colonel Foster will tell you that the detachment you have desired

requested also some companies of Militia, who should be engaged to serve for five months, observing, "If we do not immediately take active measures, to arm and organize our friends, the province will be lost." Sir Francis at first declined to afford the aid of the Upper Canada Militia; which, however, when affairs became more serious, marched by order of the Commander-in-Chief.

I think that I cannot do better at this moment than to pause a little before entering upon the details of the insurrection in Upper Canada, particularly as we have now arrived at the end of the month of November, 1837, and to give the reader a copy of a letter which I addressed at that moment to a friend in England, from Kingston, to which place I had been ordered as commanding Royal Engineer in Upper Canada, it being the only fortress in the country, and the dépôt of all Military stores, both *de guerre et de bouche.* Nothing that I could say now, after an interval of several years, from mere recollection, would give half the impression then upon my mind, at a moment of such excitement as that produced by the outbreak of the Lower Canadian French. Before, however, entering upon that subject, I shall give the reader a notification made at Toronto, by Sir Francis Head, which roused the loyal spirits of that city.

to have from Penetanguishene is at your service. I shall be anxious to hear from you on the subject of the removal of the 24th from Upper Canada; and I remain, &c.

"F. B. HEAD.

"Lieutenant-general Sir John Colborne, K.C.B., &c."

"*Government-house, October 29th,* 1837.

"TO THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF TORONTO.

"Sir,

"I am commanded by the Lieutenant-governor to inform you, that in consequence of the disturbed state of the Lower Province, His Excellency has cheerfully consented to the withdrawal of Her Majesty's troops from Toronto, and that His Excellency has, moreover, offered to Sir John Colborne the assistance of the Military stationed at Kingston.

"As the 24th Regiment quits the Barracks at this post to-morrow, about six thousand stand of arms and accoutrements complete, will require to be protected; and the Lieutenant-governor desires me to express to you, that he has very great pleasure in offering to commit this important trust to the loyalty and fidelity of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of Toronto.

(Signed) "J. JOSEPH."

A spirited and excellent answer was received, and the arms, &c., transferred to the Town Hall, and guarded by Volunteers.

"*Kingston, Upper Canada, November 5th,* 1837.

"TO —— &c.

"When in London last summer, I obtained a knowledge of your unceasing interest in everything relating to the Colonies, which gives me the assurance that you will not think that it is from any idle motive I now address you; but solely from the concern I entertain at a moment of excitement and peril, for the welfare of

a Province which may justly be regarded as adding strength and security to the sceptre of the Queen.

"I have lived now for ten years in Upper Canada, and from constant application to its statistical relations and to its increasing resources, have, in making myself useful by forwarding projects for internal communications, and developing the geology of the country, become acquainted with a greater number of its inhabitants than usually falls to the lot of an officer or a casual resident.

"From these circumstances I am, perhaps, as well enabled to judge of the present political state of the Colony as almost any one not immediately connected therewith, the more particularly from the fact of having had a portion of the confidence of the present and the late Lieutenant-governor, whilst I have the undoubted advantage of being perfectly disinterested, personally, otherwise than as an English gentleman must be, for the honour of his country.

"I should have desired when in town to have solicited you to peruse a MS. on the subject, which I was about to publish when Sir Francis Head arrived here, and which I had the honour of laying before him; but finding your time was constantly occupied, from the event which had just occurred,* I judged it better to avoid giving you so much trouble.

A decided change of affairs having, however, happened, since my return, in Upper Canada, and the leisure afforded by the approaching winter, together also that I have by my promotion been removed from

* The death of William IV. and the accession of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen.

the seat of Government to Kingston, seem, in my mind, to render it adviseable that I should send the present communication; therefore I shall at once plunge into the relation I am about to make.

"The French in Lower Canada have been led to imagine, by Papineau and many of the French lawyers of Quebec and Montreal, that the present is a moment when, if energy is evinced, they will meet with support from the British Parliament, and be enabled to declare themselves independent of England. They are assisted in their views by that description of persons in the United States who, having no fixed property of their own, are ever ready to pounce upon prey with avidity, whether it be in Texas, on the disputed border, in Canada, or anywhere else where the facility afforded by the vast internal water communications of North America would enable them to reach without much expense.

"Papineau is, it is said, desirous, in the first instance only, to annex Lower Canada to the United States, hoping afterwards that the seeds of disunion sown between the north and the south, will ripen and create a vast northern empire, of which the St. Lawrence will be the vital artery.

"The sharp-witted North Americans knew better than to dream for an instant that Papineau is anything more than a willing tool, with a well-tempered edge, which they can manage to hew out their way with; and as the Government of the United States cannot, from its present policy and the sincere good-will of the respectable portion of its citizens towards Britain, assist their operations, so they are determined to make

another Texan affair of it, if they can; and with this view Greely and others have been sent to Madawaska, to irritate and agitate on the Boundary Line, whilst emissaries are continually passing to and from Canada, to urge Papineau and his party to overt acts before the session of the British Parliament opens.

"The British part of the Lower Canadians, including the far greater portion of the Irish Catholics, who are disliked by the French peasantry, seeing the condition of things, and that conciliation only renders the Papinists more bold, have at length loudly declared themselves, and in professing a devoted loyalty to Her Majesty, and a determination to resist French domination to the death, openly declared that the feudal laws are not at all to their taste; thus giving, or as it were, shadowing forth to the world, the extreme probability that unless their loyalty is supported, the British in Lower Canada may voluntarily embrace the same course which the French have so unwisely hugged—a course that will be eagerly snapped at by the neighbouring republicans, who will then coalesce with the British instead of the French, and a war of extermination to the Catholic religion, and to the feudal system as well as to the French language would be the result. The British have been goaded to this by the insults they receive in the large towns and villages, for it is only there that Papinism openly prevails, as the Canadian peasantry are, in the country, a quiet, peaceable, uninstructed race, devoted to the Priests, and attached to the places of their birth, from which they rarely remove.

"I travelled lately with a French Roman Catholic

Bishop, in the woods, where I had the opportunity of unreserved conversation; and upon putting the direct question to him, as to the part which the priesthood would take in the event of an *émeute*, he assured me that they were too well aware of the immediate consequences of a declaration of independence to the Canadians, not to do all in their power to prevent assistance to Papineau, who, as most adventurers of his class have done, had discarded religion altogether from his mind or motives of action, and is well aware that his power is increased in proportion only as he is able to bring the Ministers of the Catholic Church into contempt; although he can do so but by covert means, as the Canadians generally would not easily be drawn out of the track in which they have travelled for ages. The Catholic Primate of Canada has just published in the Churches directions, which prove that the Bishop told me the truth.

"This is the present picture of Lower Canada. Revolt may be apprehended from both parties, and both assisted by the Americans with one and the same view; but it is not at this moment that any serious consequences will result. The means taken to concentrate the troops, the determination displayed by the British party, and the failure of the agitators in their first attempt at Montreal and at the Boundary Line will prevent any further action this winter than, perhaps, an occasional murder or arson.

"But such a state of things cannot last for ever, and it is to be fervently hoped that it will soon be put a stop to, both for the happiness of the population and for the security of the Government.

"Sensible people in the United States, and with the word sensible I mean to connect respectable and responsible, are far from desiring to see the Canadas annexed to their dominion. I travelled from England with some American gentlemen of high standing of New York, of Boston, of Philadelphia, and with one of the principal proprietors of the cotton-manufactories at Lowell, the Manchester of America, and I have conversed freely with many others in my tours in the States, being known there by geological researches, and my father's reputation; and they all agree that independent of the necessity and propriety of cultivating the friendship of England, they have nothing whatever to gain but much to lose by the annexation of the Canadas to their Union. Their territory is already too widely spread, and they scarcely can conceive that Britain would willingly part with a country which checks their ambition, whilst it provides for the contingency of a Russian outpouring; nor can they believe that she would part with a second Gibraltar, as Quebec is, holding the key of the St. Lawrence, and the strong work at Kingston, which so effectually shuts the exitus of the great Mediterranean fresh water seas of North America, to which Russian attention is silently drawn; for the Russian outposts have got nearly as far south as California on the Pacific. But it is not my province to state what must be so much better judged of by yourself, and I shall therefore at once pass on to the present condition of a highly-favoured region, Upper Canada.

"Here a new scene presents itself; the demagogue and the agitator, the restless, the idle, and the unprin-

cipled have not the same excuses with the *enfans du sol.* They have no broad distinctions of religion or origin to haunt their imaginations; all are British, or descended from Britons.

"The volume of grievance, a volume of shreds and patches, industriously got up by Mackenzie, embraces endless causes of discontent; and to read that book in England, or to read the production of a very young man of the name of Wells, who styles himself "Member of Parliament for Upper Canada," or to listen to the ubiquitous Dr. Duncombe, who is an Englishman or an American, as it best suits his pocket, or to reason with a very excellent young lawyer, who leads the Reform party, a stranger to the country would suppose that misrule and tyranny had been dealt out to Upper Canada by the British Government to an extent the world's history had never before shown. But on visiting the province, and mixing with its population, as I have done to a great extent, one finds that, although the discontented are sufficiently numerous, the friends of British connection are still more so, and are truly *the respectable* portion of the community. They feel, and openly express that feeling, that the period will arrive when Upper Canada will be rich and strong enough to support herself, but without dissolving the ties which link her to her Parent, under whose alliance and protection they still would remain.

"Untaxed, unfettered as they now are, what have the Upper Canadians to gain by joining the United States, where taxation is onerous, and where any expression of political feeling must be confined to the praise of democratic institutions?

"The Upper Canadians feel that they enjoy, in reality, that true *common weal*, which secures to all, the protection of the laws, and the free exercise of natural rights, without imposing the necessity of a continual supervision or surveillance by the governing powers.

"It would be folly, however, to assert that they have no grievances to complain of. They have; and they are those which naturally arose from the circumstances in which the Colony was erected.

"The first settlers were persons whose loyalty to, or whose conviction of the utility of the mixed form of government of Britain, led them to wander in the trackless woods of Canada, rather than endure the perils and insolence of an untried popular will. Hence the principal office-holders were chosen at first from the more intelligent or the more enterprising of these devoted people, and, by a natural action, son succeeded sire, until office and power grew together, and, in a narrow scope, family domination succeeded.

"This is the great and crying evil of the Revolutionary party, from whose prolific roots the other minor complaints, they assert, entirely originate; and it is therefore one deserving of immediate and serious consideration; for if any adverse circumstances occur to mar the Colony in its advancement, it will be supposed to arise from this cause. I do not hesitate to say, for I have no interests to consult, that a primary step towards settling this grievance, and hewing away most of the minor deformities of the Upper Canada political plant, would be first to get the axe to the root of the tree vigorously, and afterwards cautiously and slowly smooth the log itself.

"If Bidwell gets rid of the 'Family Compact,' and deprives the present office-holders of place and power, would the country be a whit the better for the change? on the contrary, the whining and snuffling disciple of American new-light religion, or the open and daring traitor, who cared nothing for any form of faith, would mount on the stools of office, would dictate unheard-of rules of law and religion, and would rapidly sink the ancient and venerated Constitution of our forefathers beneath the ruddy waves of a fierce and dogmatic Republican flood.

"The present head of the 'Family Party' in Upper Canada, is a man of great natural talent and of tried loyalty, possessing the most unbounded influence over his followers or adherents, with whom his word is law. He holds some of the highest offices of the State; and, in his official acts, as well as in his private conduct, is highly and deservedly respected. He himself is entirely devoted to the interests of the party of which he is the Coryphœus, and very naturally desires to see the sons of those loyalists, who suffered so many privations in 1783, succeed to the honours of this rising province. But to argue about abstract questions of right or wrong in a new country, where, as in a little provincial town at home, personal and political feeling is always infinitely higher than in an old and extensive community, one must enjoy the advantage of being unconnected with place or inhabitants.

"I am of opinion, that the 'Family Compact' has been made a stalking-horse of by Bidwell, Mackenzie, and O'Grady, for want of some tangible and real grievance to found their agitation upon; and, on

reading the 'Blue-Book' or the 'Grievance-Book,' a stranger will naturally say,—Why place all official emolument and power in the hands of one class of persons? He requires to know, that, until very lately indeed, there was no other class either sufficiently educated, or with a sufficient stake in the country, to entrust it to; and, amongst those seeking office to the detriment of the 'Family,' the principal persons were imbued with an insane desire to see everything through the perspective glass of the United States.

"The desire to make the Executive, or Privy Council, elective, or subject to popular dictation, has been withstood firmly by the Lieutenant-governor, who is, however, not unwilling to see that the lead in the legislative division of the three estates may be very well administered by any other person than the head of the law; and it is by no means unlikely that the Vice-chancellor recently created, who is an Englishman, totally unconnected with any person or party in the province, and but a short time resident in it, may occupy the woolsack in like manner as the Chancellor of England does, and by the same parity of reasoning; for the Lieutenant-governor, who is Chancellor, cannot, of course, do so, and that he or his successors will do so, I am persuaded.

"One of the other loudly-toned grievances is, that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Regiopolis and the Archdeacon of Toronto are members of the Council, thus giving an appearance that religious dominion is added to that of the 'Family Compact.' Of the first-named personage there is but one opinion throughout

the length and breadth of Canada; and it is equally well-known that he has never, I believe, but once, when first appointed, assumed his seat.* He is loyal to the back-bone; and, in the late war, led the Glengarry Militia in the field, bearing, as the Americans said, a charmed life. He is well-known to some of the members of the Royal Family; and altogether, although exceedingly disliked by the American party, is beloved and esteemed by every respectable person of every other party and of every creed in Canada.

"The reverend gentleman, who is the great aim and object of Republican denunciation, and whose name follows that of Bishop Macdonnell, is the leading dignitary of the Church of England in Upper Canada, and is a person known also throughout the length and breadth of the provinces, and most extensively at home, as a determined supporter of the British Crown, loyal to the death, and eminent for his natural and acquired talents. The conduct of this worthy scion of the Church during the dreadful seasons of the cholera in Toronto, will never be forgotten there; and, altogether, Dr. Strachan has probably done more than any individual in the province, or, perhaps, rather than all put together, to raise it to its present standing as a British Colony. I certainly differ from him in many of his views, but the difference is slight, and my respect for his cloth forbids me from mentioning such trivial matters, excepting one, and that I should have passed over had it not been prominently urged by the Bidwellians.

"In a country like Canada, where the Church of

* Bishop Macdonnell,—the lamented Bishop Macdonnell,—universally loved in Canada.

England forms only one portion of the modes of faith pursued by the settlers, I must think that to bring lambs into its fold, will be more easily accomplished by a bishop who shall live untrammelled by politics, or in other words, I would rather see Dr. Strachan the Bishop of Upper Canada,—which it is likely he will be, without a seat in the Executive or in the Legislative Councils,—for the same reason that I wish to see the Chief-justice left to the administration of the laws solely. That he may receive the reward of his untiring loyalty and his exertions for Upper Canada, is, I am sure, the wish of every person who knows Dr. Strachan.*

"But whilst pointing out the slight errors, as I conceive them, which circumstances alone have created to place these excellent and worthy loyalists in, I cannot pass over the still more serious and the very dangerous opposite course of their dark and designing opponents.

"Opposed diametrically to the great heads of the 'Family Party' (for a 'Compact' it is not) is Marshal Spring Bidwell, the leader of the Revolutionists in Upper Canada—the would-be Cromwell of the country —who is a very estimable private character, but a deep, keen, subtle, designing, and reflecting politician, young enough to give trouble for nearly half a century more; but who, from physical disability, does not act openly, but draws around him, for shelter and cover, the double folds of his lawyer's and his speaker's robe, and directs the secret workings of the anarchists. This man,

* The boon has been most graciously conceded by the Sovereign since this was written.

with Dr. John Rolph of Toronto, lawyer and physician, and the venerable and otherwise respectable and respected Dr. William Warren Baldwin, are the real leaders of the Reform party. The latter, however, does not go further than Reform, and is not connected with the grand scheme of annexation to the United States.

"Mackenzie and O'Grady are the editors of the revolutionary newspapers, the *Constitution* and the *Correspondent;* the one with nothing to lose, the other an unfrocked Roman Catholic Priest, with some landed property, well educated, and clever; and who, were it not for the notoriety he has gained, might gladly renounce his associate.

"These men thunder from the press constantly against Family domination, and have employed Mr. Hume to state their grievances to the House of Commons; whilst Mr. Roebuck pleads the cause of the ninety-two Resolutions for Lower Canada, before the same tribunal.

"The great grievance, or, as it may be justly styled, the great humbug of Family domination can, if proved true, be readily abated;—but the grievance of a domination by Bidwell and his party—the Family Compact of the United States' institutions—would never cease, if once it got a footing; as revolution must necessarily follow in its wake, and Canada, instead of rising, must sink, sink, sink!

"The next master grievance is the Clergy Reserves, which, by a perversion of terms, is stated to be a part and parcel of the 'Family Compact.'

"I am a member of the Church of England, and a Conservative both by birth and principles, attached

firmly to its institutions; but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that there are fewer adherents of that Church than of any other in Upper Canada, and that it must, therefore, be unjust to uphold it exclusively at the expense of the community; whilst the very acrimonious debates in the House of Assembly, between the supporters of the Clergy Reserves question and the Presbyterian or Scotch opponents of it, having placed one Crown lawyer in a very awkward position, shows that the time is approaching when some master minds must grapple with the question on State grounds of policy, or there will, otherwise, be serious results.

"A complete reorganization of the land-granting system is also necessary, by which the delays and difficulties attending the expensive process to emigrants, of dancing attendance at the public offices at Toronto, would be finally checked; and this might be easily managed by the nomination of respectable agents of the Land Board in the different districts; whilst the right of voting at elections by British emigrants, upon the payment of the stipulated sum on the first instalment of their purchase, should be a primary object of attention.* The separation of pluralities in all official situations, as far as practicable, and the reward of talent and merit, without regard to interest or family claims, should be held out as the goal to which the young Upper Canadians might hereafter aspire.

"I have thus briefly, and perhaps hastily, put together my notions upon what might be done to satisfy the people here; but if it is found impracticable to do so,

* It is singular that for some years past the office of Surveyor-general, so important for a rising colony, has not been filled up in Canada.—EDITOR.

which I cannot credit, I see nothing else, *as a last resource,* but the union of all the provinces; and then Upper Canada being the only inland colony having at present a most indirect communication with the Parent State, would, instead of being under a Deputy-governor, be controlled by the Viceroy of British America, who would always be an officer of the highest rank or talent,*—perhaps one of the Royal Family. Then complete the line of fortresses round Kingston, make it the naval and military stronghold of the Great Lakes, and permit a free navigation of the St. Lawrence to all the provinces, with Montreal as the great port of entry for Western Canada, and Quebec for Eastern. A port might be established at the foot of the current St. Mary, or at Isle Jesus, at the back of Montreal, where it is proposed to open a canal of communication with the Ottawa, St. Lawrence, and Rideau navigations, and where cargoes for Upper Canada might be transhipped into the boats and barges plying on those canals, until the opening of them all, to a width sufficient for steam-boats, would create an uninterrupted water-road from the Atlantic to Lake Superior.† This could all be effected without any cession of territory from Lower Canada, other than the mere port of entry, the canal, and the land on which the Custom-house would be erected; and would afford that to the Upper Canadians which they will eventually insist upon,—a free communication with England.

"Whilst upon this subject, and to show the importance to England of an uninterrupted water-com-

* I still believe in 1847 that this impression on my mind in 1838 will be verified.

† Railroads are about to effect this.—EDITOR.

munication from London to the Falls of St. Mary, on Lake Superior, I shall just touch upon a famous scheme of the Americans,—a project to unite the waters of the Mexican Gulf with those of the Canadian Lakes, which, if achieved, will create a new power and empire in Central North America.

"Professor Mitchell, of New York, wrote an essay, which is attached to an American edition of Cuvier's 'Theory of the Earth,' in which he says: 'B. F. Stickney has written some valuable geological observations on the middle lakes or seas of North America. He states, that the elevation of the land between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, does not exceed eighteen feet, and that boats pass without difficulty for three or four months of the year. This ingenious inquirer asks, whether a dam, twenty or more feet high, across the Strait of Niagara, would not raise the Middle Lake high enough to discharge by the south-west towards the Gulf of Mexico. It violates no principle to suppose it formerly was so.'—P. 360. 'Observations of the Geology of North America,' by Samuel Mitchell, Professor of Botany and Mineralogy, New York.*

"The Americans, in short, lose no opportunity of opening lines of communication for interior produce, however vast and gigantic the operations may be. The survey of their intended Ship-canal round the Falls of Niagara, by the topographical engineers, is most ably and beautifully executed.

"But, to return to my subject; the book I mentioned as having been shown to the Lieutenant-governor on his

* The Illinois Canal, connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi, is now in operation.—EDITOR.

arrival here, embraces all the preceding points, much more, of course, at large than can be accomplished in the limits of a letter, and enters into statistic details; but at present I have no intention of publishing it, as it would require, in the existing state of the Colony, to be re-written and somewhat remodelled.

"I shall be happy at any time to afford you any information which may be legitimately within my power, and I can only now say, that I hope I may not be deemed tedious; but in such exciting times one is apt to step beyond usual bounds. My removal from the seat of Government, by my promotion, affords an additional reason for sending you this statement, as I am, excepting in my military capacity, wholly unconnected with the local administration, and desirous only to see it flourish by a wise course of action and by timely paring off some of these too luxuriant shoots which time itself had fostered, and which previous to Sir Francis Head's dynasty, had been pointed out from home, as to where the pruning knife might be most efficiently and safely used, so as to train the Colonial tree into a more regular growth.

"I feel perfectly convinced that Upper Canada is the main stay of all the British possessions in the New World, a check to French intrigue or domination, a balance duly weighed against Republicanism and the desire to annihilate British power on the Continent, and a point to which the eyes of the sister colonies are anxiously directed; and I am equally certain that Upper Canada will remain in close connexion with the Parent State, and requires only to be treated with impartiality to gain over to the bonds of that connexion many very estimable men who have joined the ranks of

the enemy from mere personal disappointment, or from supposing that Great Britain cares but little about Canada, which has been most industriously urged.

"With much regard and respect,

"I subscribe myself, &c.,

"R. H. B."

Such was the state of Upper Canada in the month of November, 1837. The season of winter set in, at first, very stormy; but as December lengthened, mild and open weather prevailed throughout Upper Canada, and at Christmas navigation was still going on, principally by steamboats, on Lake Ontario, continuing until near February. Such a season had scarcely ever been known; fortunate was it for Upper Canada that Divine Providence had so ordained it; for had the usual severity of frost existed, no direct communication between the far-distant points of the Upper Canadian metropolis, the military dépôt of Kingston, and the weak and assailable frontier of Amherstburgh and Niagara could have been had; whilst the passage from the United States to most of these places, excepting Toronto, would have been comparatively easy on the ice! and the interior townships, in which disaffection chiefly existed, would have been equally open to the march of internal as the other would have been for external foes.

When Sir Francis Head took the bold and resolute measure of sending all the troops out of the province to Sir John Colborne, vast was the joy in the camp of the Revolutionists. They at once threw off the mask, but still Upper Canada remained comparatively tranquil.

The formidable Convention of Delegates were still,

however, in existence, and consisted, as appears by Mackenzie's *Gazette*, of the following persons, chosen by a series of resolutions, one of which is,—"Resolved, that reposing the greatest confidence in our fellow-citizens, John Rolph, M.P.P.; Marshall Spring Bidwell; S. D. Morrison, M.P.P.; James Leslie, Esq.; James H. Price, Esq.; John Edward Tims, Esq.; Robert M'Kay, Esq.; we do hereby nominate and appoint them Members of the Provincial Convention for the City of Toronto. Carried unanimously and by acclamation."

Of these gentlemen three were medical practitioners; namely, Rolph, Morrison, and Tims; two were lawyers; namely, Bidwell and Price. Leslie was a bookseller, of very respectable standing. What M'Kay was I do not remember.

Besides this Convention there had been an "Alliance Society" for Upper Canada, and a "Constitutional Reform Society." Of the intentions of the "Alliance Society" and its objects no doubt existed. Its President was Dr. Morrison, Mayor of Toronto; its Vice-president, Mr. James Macintosh; Dr. Tims was the Secretary, and Mr. Parsons, a small tradesman, its Treasurer.

The "Constitutional Reform Society" possessed many members of intelligence, whose views went not to foster revolution. Its President was the venerable Dr. William Warren Baldwin; Secretary, Mr. Francis Hincks,—then a partnership Commission-merchant, Editor of a Reform Newspaper, and now occupying a prominent situation in the Cabinet of the United Canadas as the Honourable Mr. Hincks. Its Treasurer was the same James Leslie, the bookseller of Toronto.

As all this is matter of history, I shall also briefly state who were the leading members of the State when the Insurrection broke out, and who gave such active and honourable assistance to the Lieutenant-governor.

President of the Council, the Honourable Robert Baldwin Sullivan, nephew of Dr. Baldwin, and an eminent young Barrister.

Executive Councillors, the Honourable Captain Baldwin, R. N., brother of Dr. Baldwin; the Honourable William Allan, President of the Bank of Upper Canada; the Honourable John Elmsley, R. N.; the Honourable William Henry Draper, Solicitor-general.

John Joseph, Esq., was the Civil and Private Secretary, and Captain Frederick Halkett, of the Guards,* Military Secretary and Aide-de-camp.

Chief-justice, the Honourable John Beverley Robinson; Attorney-general, the Honourable Christopher Hagerman; Solicitor-general, the Honourable Mr. Draper.

Robert S. Jameson, Esq., Vice-chancellor. The Judges were the Honourables L. P. Sherwood, J. B. Macaulay, Archibald M'Lean, and Jonas Jones.

Colonel C. L. L. Foster, Assistant Adjutant-general, was left in command of the troops at Toronto.

Lieutenant-colonel Cubitt, commanding the Royal Artillery, was at Kingston; and Major Bonnycastle, commanding the Royal Engineers in Upper Canada, was also there.

The Militia was totally disorganized, and had never been out, except for one training-day, a year since 1815.

* This amiable and regretted young officer lost his life from exposure to the weather, and the extraordinary fatigues he, in common with others, underwent during the rebellion.

Some troops of Dragoons and some Volunteer companies of Artillery, however, had occasionally been drilled a very little. The 1st Volunteer Company of Artillery under Major Carfrae, and the 2nd under Captain Stennet, had, however, been drilled well by Captain Leckie, an old Sergeant of the Royal Artillery, who was in the Adjutant-general's office at Toronto. I had also frequently seen the troop of Cavalry, under Captain Wilson, — formerly Captain Bethune's, and attached to the 2nd Frontenac regiment at Kingston— exercising, and no doubt some few others were equally well-clothed and instructed; but in general the sword was sheathed, and the cannon and musket seen only in the Ordnance storehouses. The Militia were under the direction of Colonel N. Coffin, a very old and highly-respected officer of the army, who was assisted in his office by Lieutenant-colonel Walter O'Hara, who had seen much Peninsular service. The Indian department, entirely a peaceful one, was superintended by Colonel Givins, and at the Six Nations, by Major Winniett, formerly commanding the 68th Regiment. A Captain of the Royal Artillery and a subaltern remained at Kingston, and a Captain and two subalterns of Engineers were at Toronto or at Kingston. About twenty gunners, detached at Kingston, Niagara, or Toronto, composed the *personnel* of the Upper Canada army, or all the regular force which had not marched, or were marching to the support of the forces in Lower Canada.

Mackenzie and his *confréres,* conceived this to be about the best season at which Papineau's plans could be assisted. The news of the disasters experienced by Papineau's *generals* had scarcely reached Toronto, when the flame of insurrection was briskly fanned by

the arch-agitator Mackenzie, who, throwing overboard Bidwell, Rolph, Morrison, *et id genus omne*, who did not think that fighting was a pleasant occupation, he concocted a rising with Lount, M'Intosh, and others, the taking of Toronto and of the Lieutenant-governor, and a declaration of independence.

I was sitting very quietly at home at Kingston one evening in the beginning of December,—after having returned from Fort Henry, which had been left unfinished, and which I had been engaged in placing in such a condition as to prevent surprise, or the destruction of its ponderous works by an incendiary,—when I was surprised by a person running into my room and telling me that a steam-boat, the *Traveller*, had arrived from Toronto, with Sir Francis Head and all who were able to escape from that city, which had been taken by Mackenzie and burnt.

I buckled on my armour to go down to the Artillery Barracks, where the Commandant of our little garrison of about eleven or twelve Artillerymen resided, to take his orders as to what was best to be done in such a dreadful emergency; and particularly as our communications both with Toronto and Montreal, by land, were interrupted, or wholly cut off by the rebels. I had just got out, when a second breathless messenger came in,—for the hall-door was left open to my neighbours, who, alarmed beyond measure, were crowding in to hear the news. This gentleman informed me that the steam-boat had brought nothing whatever from Toronto, but that some serious outbreak had occurred there, and that all her cargo was a letter for me. It was, indeed, a letter, ordering me to send up

stores, and to arm all loyal persons, and preserve intact the great military dépôt of Kingston and its nearly finished fortress. At the same time a duplicate had been sent by land, and the person who bore it only escaped with his life. He was an active young gentleman, and was narrowly searched and examined by the rebels on his route, whilst his *compagnon de voyage* was taken prisoner. He sewed the dispatch in his sleeve; and by it, after he reached me late at night, I was again ordered to arm the loyalists, and to assume the command of the Militia; which after duly consulting with my senior officer, Colonel Cubitt, who was then suffering from extreme ill-health, and, I grieve to say, survived only after long and protracted suffering, I waited on the Magistrates, and took the measures, which will be hereafter detailed.

"Toronto was," as Sir Francis Head so truly and graphically says, "in a moment of profound peace, on the 4th of December, 1837, suddenly invaded by a band of armed rebels; amounting, according to report to 3,000 men (but in actual fact about 500), and commanded by Mr. Mackenzie, the Editor of a Republican newspaper; Mr. Van Egmond, an officer who had served under Napoleon; Mr. Gibson, a land-surveyor; Mr. Lount, a blacksmith; Mr. Loyd, and some other notorious characters."

Sir Francis Head has been blamed severely for suffering the open and unconcealed designs of these men to proceed to such a length. Whatever information the Lieutenant-governor may have had, I am certain that the country at large had not the most remote idea of an actual resort to arms.

I have before me *The Kingston Herald,* a Whig newspaper, always edited by persons in the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion, and printed on the 12th December, 1837, which has the following paragraph in evidence of the state of the times:

"The rebellion which broke out a few days since in the immediate vicinity of the capital of Upper Canada, is an event which cannot fail to have startled the great mass of our quiet and unsuspecting fellow-subjects, who, unaware of the desperate character of the plot formed for the overthrow of the Government, fancied the country in a state of entire security and peace."

Sir Francis himself observes, in his "Narrative of his Government," in which, unfortunately, he gives the public very little of the events of the insurrection, that "the traitorous arrangements which Mackenzie made, were of that minute nature that it would have been difficult, even if I had desired it, to have suppressed them; for instance, he began by establishing Union Lists (in number not exceeding forty) of persons desirous of political reform; and who, by an appointed secretary, were recommended to communicate regularly with himself, for the purpose of establishing a meeting of delegates.

"As soon as, by most wicked misrepresentations, he had succeeded in seducing a number of well-meaning people to join these squads, his next step was to prevail upon a few of them to attend their meetings armed, for the alleged purpose of firing at a mark.

"While these meetings were in continuance, Mr. Mackenzie, by means of his newspaper, and by constant personal attendance, succeeded in inducing his adherents

to believe that he was everywhere strongly supported, and that his means, as well as his forces, would prove invincible."

Thus Mackenzie proceeded; and the armed meetings which took place were chiefly confined to a place called Loyd Town, and other villages or farming stations in the neighbourhood of the great road from Toronto to Lake Simcoe, called Yonge-street. These bands were armed with rifles imported from the United States, and with pikes manufactured by such blacksmiths as Mr. Lount, who, heading or assisting the political local unions, were in fact busy only in forming the nucleus of a revolutionary army, which on the 19th of December, 1837, was to be concentrated for the overthrow, at Toronto, of the Upper Canadian Imperial Government, and Sir Francis Head having received intelligence of the meditated attack, issued a Militia General Order, which hastened the proceedings of the rebels.

Mackenzie and his conclave accordingly determined, before any adequate force could be armed by the Government, to push matters to extremity, and sent emissaries forth to summon his army to meet at Montgomery's Tavern,—a very large wooden range of buildings, capable of containing many men and horses, and only about four miles from Toronto, on a rising ground which commanded the great thoroughfare called Yonge-street, leading from the city through the highly-cultivated townships, for thirty-six miles, to Lake Simcoe, and in which direction his principal supporters resided, in farms or small villages to the right or the left of that road; such as Lount's Farm, Loyd Town, David's Town, &c. David's Town we must not pass over without a word.

At a short distance from Newmarket, which is about three miles to the right of Yonge-street, near its termination at the Holland Landing, or a river of that name running into Lake Simcoe, is a settlement of religious enthusiasts, who have chosen the most fertile part of Upper Canada, the country near and for miles around Newmarket, for the seat of their earthly tabernacle. Here numbers of deluded people have placed themselves under the temporal and spiritual charge of a high-priest, who calls himself David, his real name is David Wilson. The temple (as the building appropriated to the celebration of their rites is called), is served by this man, who affects a primitive dress, and has a train of virgin ministrants clothed in white. He travels about occasionally to preach at towns and villages in a wagon, followed by others, covered with white tilt-cloths: but what his peculiar tenets are, beyond that of dancing and singing, and imitating David the King, I really cannot tell, for it is altogether too farcical to last long;* but Mr. David seems to understand clearly, as far as the temporal concerns of his infatuated followers go, that the old-fashioned significations of *meum* and *tuum* are religiously centered in his own *sanctum*. It was natural that such a field should produce tares in abundance.

On the 4th day of December, 1837, the forest roads for forty miles in rear of Toronto witnessed for the first time in the history of Canada, the unnatural scene of armed men marching along their beautiful avenues, to

* I visited him in 1848, when he was still flourishing.—EDITOR.

subvert a Government from which they had received not only no injuries, but the utmost forbearance and kindness. They reached their destination in the evening, at four o'clock, and then commenced "the Rebellion" in Upper Canada.

The loyal subjects of the Queen who resided in Yonge-street* and in the townships adjacent, no sooner heard of this daring march, than they also flew to arms to defend their monarch and their homes. One of these was an old officer, who had fought and bled for the cause of order and loyalty in the American war, Colonel Moodie, and who, after distinguishing himself, particularly in Canada, had retired two or three years before this event, to settle himself and his family on Yonge-street, upon a very pretty farm, which was situated not very far from the position chosen by Mackenzie. Two of his neighbours and himself, having ascertained the facts of the march, the impressment of wagons, the seizure of cattle and supplies, and that the flag of Rebellion was actually unfurled, mounted their horses to dash on to Toronto and inform the Lieutenant-governor.

Mackenzie, on taking up the position of Montgomery's Tavern, at Gallows Hill, well knew that in his rear hung a great body of loyalists, who only required correct information of his motions to harass his advance upon the city. To prevent this, he stationed men in appropriate places to arrest every person going to or coming from Toronto; and he performed personally the same duty, having with him a body-guard.

* The name of the road through the fine country leading to Lake Simcoe from Toronto.—EDITOR.

The three gentlemen, on perceiving their danger as they approached the camp of the rebels, put spurs to their horses and dashed along the road. They were summoned to surrender, which they refused, and continued to gallop on. A volley was fired at them; unfortunately two shots took effect upon the gallant old soldier Moodie, and he fell mortally wounded from his horse. One of his companions was made prisoner, and the other escaped.

This was the first act of the drama of revolution; let us see what it was thought of by spectators of the Canadian Whig and the Canadian Tory parties.

I have preserved the *Upper Canada Herald* of the 11th December, 1837, and as I was not an eye-witness of the scene shall condense from it; as the chief Whig organ conducted by Methodists, its relation is derived from the actors, as well as its opinions on the plot, by which much may be gleaned useful to the politician in the present state of things in the United Canadas.

There will be a little recapitulation of the foregoing matter, but it serves to show the loyalty of a large and most influential portion of the people of Western Canada, whilst, as I know it to be written from the very best authority, and to be perfectly correct in its details, it will save the trouble of much collation, and will afford the English reader as good an insight to the sandy foundation on which Bidwell and Mackenzie's grand schemes were founded, as could be had if that reader had been really in the province, and a disinterested looker-on, whilst he will feel persuaded, that in stating

my own opinions I am fully corroborated by parties of different feelings.

THE REBELLION IN UPPER CANADA.

(*From the "Upper Canada Herald" of December 12th*, 1837.)

The Rebellion, which broke out a few days since in the immediate vicinity of the capital of Upper Canada, is an event which cannot fail to have startled the great mass of our quiet and unsuspecting fellow-subjects, who, unaware of the desperate character of the plot formed for the overthrow of the Government, fancied the country in a state of entire security and peace.

For several weeks past, rumours have prevailed of meetings at Loyd-town and other places about Yonge-street, at which bands of malcontents were understood to have assembled for the purpose of military drill. In some instances it was asserted that these bands were actually armed, and that rifles were imported from abroad, and manufactured at home for the use of the persons who had associated together, under the name of Political Unions, ostensibly for reform, but in fact for the organization of an armed revolutionary force.

The paper called the *Constitution*, edited by William Lyon Mackenzie (whose name long notorious, is now above measure steeped in infamy), has lately been seen to surpass all its former audacity, and openly to excite the worst passions of its readers, by the most artful misrepresentations as well as the most flagitious falsehoods, respecting our form of Government, the policy of our Executive, as well Imperial as Colonial, and the character and conduct of the most prominent and honorable persons in the country. It indeed went further, and openly pressed on the attention of the people of Upper Canada, the advantages they would derive from the immediate and total overthrow of all our existing institutions and political connections, and the erection of an independent State.

Well aware how truly free and excellent was the constituted form of Government now enjoyed here, neither the Executive nor the people heeded the growing virulence and atrocity of the revolutionary Journals of the metropolis, and in the midst of this favoured security, the conspirators against the peace and welfare of Upper Canada were left to concoct their schemes of violence and bloodshed at their leisure.

At length Papineau and his miserable adherents madly rushed to arms, and aimed a parricidal blow at the Queen's Government in Lower Canada; and the Lieutenant-governor of this province, fully relying on the unsullied loyalty of our brave Militia, consented to the withdrawal of the entire military force from our garrisons for the press-

ing exigences below, and the effectual suppression in that quarter of all lawless attempts at commotion.

This conjuction appears to have been eagerly seized by the disaffected party in Upper Canada, as precisely the most favourable to their views; and they formed a project for possessing themselves of the capital and public archives, and establishing a Government wholly independent of the British sceptre. The long-cherished hope of rebellion and revolution seemed near an immediate realization; and a bold plot was suddenly devised (the ramifications of which are yet to be fully traced), which appears unequalled by any recorded in history since the great conspiracy of Catiline for the subversion of the Roman State.

There is reason to believe that an active correspondence has for some time been kept up between the leaders in and about Toronto and the malcontents in Lower Canada, and various parts of our own province; and it is also found that arrangements were commenced by the most prominent members of the conspiring gang (the fit tools of more crafty persons behind the screen), for securing to what has been styled "the Patriotic cause," the active services of American adventurers. It was clearly the intention of the conspirators, that after drilling a sufficient number of desperadoes, in separate squads at different places in the Home district within a day's march of Toronto, a sudden rush on the town should be made simultaneously by the whole of them under their boldest leaders, on the 19th inst.,—that the town should be fired in different places for the purpose of distracting and terrifying the inhabitants; that in the mean time they should gain possession of the fort, the public offices, and the persons of the Lieutenant-governor and his officers, and that they should then hoist on the Government-house a flag provided for the contingency, proclaim a Republic, and organize a new Government. 'Owing to the determination of His Excellency Sir Francis B. Head, to which he had come on Saturday, the 2nd inst., for the purpose of allaying the apprehensions entertained by many citizens of Toronto respecting the object of the Yonge-street drillings, to order that the Colonels of Militia should hold their regiments in readiness for any emergency; the rebellion broke out a fortnight before the time originally fixed on. The leading conspirators dreaded the organization of the Militia of Toronto, which would have been speedily accomplished under the Militia-general order of Monday, the 4th inst., and therefore resolved to enter and carry the city by a *coup-de-main* on the night immediately following the issue of that order—a night which is destined to become ever memorable in in our country's annals. Accordingly Mackenzie, who acted in the capacity of General, in concert with Gibson, M.P.P., Lount, Loyd, Fletcher, and one Anthony Anderson, assembled their forces, which

they had recently been engaged in drilling at Montgomery's Tavern, about four miles from the city, in the course of Monday, and prepared for an advance in the night.

Sundry citizens had, in the meanwhile, heard vague rumours of the intentions of the conspirators, and met together in the City Hall the same evening, from whence scouts were despatched to gather information respecting the movements of the expected assailants; and to this precaution, under providence, are we probably indebted for our preservation from frightful evils and a loss of many valuable lives. Two of the scouts, viz.,—Mr. John Powell, an alderman of the city, and Mr. Archibald M'Donell, wharfinger,—proceeded in the evening up Yonge-street, and after passing the toll-gate, were met on Gallows-hill by two persons on horseback, who proved to be Mackenzie himself and Anthony Anderson,—now known to be one of his most daring confederates. These men desired the scouts to surrender, and M'Donell, being unarmed, was captured, but Powell, having arms, effected his escape after firing one pistol at Anderson (who was thrown by the plunging of his horse, and broke his neck in the fall), and presenting another, which missed fire, at the head of the other traitor. Powell instantly made his way to town, where he gave the alarm to the Government and people. Immediately afterwards, an inhabitant of Yonge-street effected a passage through the rebel force, which had established itself on Montgomery's-hill, and commenced cutting off all communication between the city and the country in its rear, and he also gave the alarm. On this the bells of the college and churches rang, and the citizens were roused from their beds by the astounding cry that a rebellion had actually begun, and the insurgents in full march on the city: instantly the whole city was roused and in motion. The Lieutenant-governor threw himself into the Town-hall, as the most available position for immediate defence against a foe, of whose actual numbers no positive information had been obtained; and there he superintended the issue of the arms (which, by a happy foresight had been brought from the depôt at Kingston), to the citizens of all classes who flocked around him, firmly bent on defending the place to the last extremity. It was an anxious and critical moment, and the scene then presented will not soon be obliterated from the memory of those who witnessed it. There were to be seen, fully accoutred with musket, belt, bayonet, and cartouch-box, and standing in the ranks, judges, councillors, and public officers, by the side of the loyal merchant, mechanic, and labourer. One and all prepared to defend and uphold the government of their Queen against the movers of "sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion." The night was passed in momentary expectation of attack and vigorous arrangements for repelling it; but

no enemy appeared; and when morning dawned, Sir Francis found himself surrounded by about 300 men, who had been hastily armed, together with a field-piece which had been brought down from the garrison in the course of the night, being one of those fortunately left at Toronto for salutes, and now destined for sterner uses in civil war.

The reason why the rebels did not follow up their intention of attacking the city when they would have found it the least prepared for defence, is not exactly known. It is, however, probable they were checked by the death of Anderson, as well as the proof given by the bells, that the citizens were roused.

A small select band of resolute young gentlemen, under the command of the Honourable Mr. Justice Jones, formed a piquet at another toll-gate the latter part of the night, and would have given the rebels a warmer reception than they anticipated, if they had attempted to enter the city, unless in very great force.

In the course of this eventful night, intelligence was received that the rebels posted at Montgomery's-hill had attempted to arrest three persons on horseback who were pushing their way into town. One of these persons was that gallant old veteran, Colonel Moodie, well known in this province while in command of the 104th Regiment during the American war, and who had recently purchased a farm on Yonge-street, about sixteen miles from town, with the intention of there spending the remainder of his days in quiet retirement in the bosom of his family. He and his party were summoned to surrender themselves as prisoners, but refused, and while attempting to gallop past the rebels, they were fired upon. One of the party succeeded in effecting his escape to town, another was captured. Unhappily the volley took effect on Colonel Moodie, who fell from his horse mortally wounded, and expired a few hours afterwards.

This foul murder was sufficient to prove that the insurgents were ready to perpetrate any deed of atrocity; and it was soon followed by other crimes, as we shall hereafter show.

On the first signal of alarm, an express had been dispatched to the Honourable Allan N. M'Nab, one of the Colonels of the Gore Militia, with intelligence respecting the extraordinary condition of things at Toronto; and soon afterwards an express was sent to the Eastward with letters to various persons as far down as Kingston. Both these messengers fortunately reached their destination; though the person who went to Kingston was waylaid by two fellows a few miles below the city, and forced to shoot one of them in order to escape.

His Excellency, as soon as the sun rose on Tuesday, marshalled his force in front of the Town-hall, and addressed them briefly in a few animated and energetic words, which were received with cheers, such

as alone sufficed to prove the metropolis already secure from the grasp of the revolutionists then at its doors.

The day was occupied in completing the defensive arrangements, and organizing the armed men into companies, under active officers. Piquets were posted at proper places, to observe the movements of the rebels. Volunteers were sent to assist Colonel Foster in defending the fort. A strong garrison was thrown into the Bank of Upper Canada, which being a stone building is capable of repelling the assaults of any foe not supported by artillery. Gradually the whole mass of the well-affected inhabitants of the city were fully equipped with arms, and rapidly acquired confidence in themselves. In the early part of the day His Excellency sent a message to the insurgents by ——— ——— who gave it a different colouring, signifying his great anxiety to prevent the effusion of blood in this most unnatural rebellion, and his desire that they should return to their allegiance.—The answer returned by the infatuated creatures was to the effect that they would not treat with Sir Francis, and that nothing but a National Convention would satisfy them, whilst they gave the Lieutenant-governor until two o'clock to consider of the question of a Convention of the people to remodel the Government. Comment on such an answer is needless.

About four o'clock in the afternoon a thick smoke was seen to ascend from Yonge-street, at the distance of two miles from town; it proved to be the house of Dr. Horne, situated near the Toll-gates, which had been set on fire by Mackenzie, by whom the work of destruction was personally superintended,—thus adding arson to the long and black catalogue of his villainies. The new and commodious mansion of Sheriff Jarvis, beautifully situated on an eminence near Doctor Horne's cottage, was it seems at one time doomed to the flames, but spared at the intercession of one of the rebel chiefs, who is understood to be under personal obligations to the worthy Sheriff.

As evening closed upon the town, Mackenzie mustered his forces, and, mounted on a white horse, led them down Yonge-street, till he came within half a mile of Lot-street, when he wheeled about on seeing that Sheriff Jarvis's piquet was ready to receive him at the avenue to the house of the late Doctor Macaulay. He then retired; but it was believed that an attack was to be made in the course of the night, and the loyalists were therefore on the alert. About seven o'clock, the rebels are believed to have been in full march to enter the city, and their skirmishers approached the Sheriff's piquet, having first captured Messrs. Duggan and Hutchinson,—two spirited and courageous youths, who were in advance as soon as the approach of the enemy was noticed; a part of the Sheriff's company discharged

their pieces, and the fire was returned, but without effect. The remainder of the piquet then poured in a volley, on which the rebels scampered in great haste up Yonge-street until they had reached a safe position. Duggan was carried off by them, but Hutchinson managed amid the confusion to escape, and on his return found, lying in the road, one of the rebels killed and two wounded. This repulse may perhaps have prevented Mackenzie from renewing the assault on the town that night, or it may have been that he was dismayed by the opportune arrival from Hamilton of Colonel McNab with sixty gallant fellows, who had hastily mustered around him on learning what had occurred at Toronto, and came down in a steamer. The loyalists also of Scarborough, under their Captain, McLean, arrived in the course of the night; and like the men of Gore were received with enthusiastic cheering. When the sun rose on Wednesday morning, the streets of the city bristled with bayonets, and it was ascertained that the Militia were preparing on all sides to pour into the city and obtain arms for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion.

As Mackenzie had completely cut off the communications between the city and the townships in its rear, no information could be obtained of the proceedings of the Loyal Militia in the interior, but hitherto the communications by the Eastern and Western roads had not been materially impeded. The mails by those routes had been allowed to enter and depart from the city without molestation. On Wednesday morning, however, Mackenzie went with a party to the post-road leading to Dundas, and there intercepted the outward mail of that day—thus adding to the capital felonies already committed, that of robbing the mail; but all such crimes merge in the general one of high treason, committed by this audacious and wicked man, and his wretched accomplices.

The whole of Wednesday was spent in arming and organizing the men who flocked around the Town-hall, and who now, strengthened by the loyalists from Niagara, Hamilton, Oakville, and Port Credit, brought to this city by steamers and schooners, formed a very effective and zealous force; indeed the city seemed as if by magic transformed into a vast barrack or camp, and militia-men "pride in their port, defiance in their eye" assumed the attitude of disciplined soldiers and marched almost with as great steadiness and order. The strength of the Rebels could not be accurately ascertained, it was by some estimated at 750, while others rated it at 1,500 men; probably it never exceeded 600 collected at any one period, though unquestionably a little success on their part would have greatly swelled their array—many of them were understood to be armed with rifles, many with common fowling-pieces, and others with pikes only—and it was

added that reinforcements were daily coming in from various disaffected sections of the country.

In the afternoon the Lieutenant-governor moved his Head-quarters from the Town-hall to the Parliament buildings, and there he issued orders for a movement to be made early on the ensuing morning, with as large a force as could be spared from the town, in order to dislodge the Rebels from their position at Montgomery's Inn.

The disposable force was amply sufficient for the purpose, as His Excellency with a most humane desire to save effusion of blood, had postponed the attack, until the enemy could be assailed by such numbers that the issue of the conflict would never be for a moment doubtful.

Colonel MacNab (who had been requested at midnight by His Excellency to take command of a sufficient force to effect that object), with a friend or two, formed the plan of attack upon the rebels. It was determined that the centre or main body of the Loyal Militia, consisting of about 600 men with two field-pieces, should proceed up Yonge-street to meet the insurgents at Montgomery's Hill; that the right wing, about 120 strong, under the command of Colonel Samuel P. Jarvis, should march on the right of Yonge-street, along the skirts of the wood, and take up their ground opposite the left of the hostile position; that the left wing, consisting of about 200 men, commanded by Colonel William Chisholm of the Gore Militia, assisted by the Hon. Mr. Justice McLean, should march up the College Avenue and attack the rebels on the right.

This plan of attack having been sanctioned, the men were drawn up in order of battle in the street and esplanade in front of Archdeacon Strachan's house, extending far to the right and left of it.—About eleven o'clock, His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head, with his staff, galloped up to the ground, and was received with three hearty cheers from the loyal men under arms. His Excellency immediately placed himself at the head of this force, and accompanied by Colonel Fitzgibbon, acting Adjutant-general, and Colonel MacNab (the former as first and the latter as second in command), marched with them up Yonge-street, according to the previous arrangement. On arriving within sight of the rebels, the main body halted, to allow time for the right and left divisions to take up their positions. During this time His Excellency passed up and down the line, and directed the men to look to their priming, and to be ready to act as soon as ordered.

After a short halt, the order to advance was given; and both field-pieces, commanded by Captains Lackie and Stennett, under Major Carfrae of the Militia Artillery, were ordered to the front. A hot fire

then commenced with small arms and artillery, which soon drove the rebels, who returned the fire, from their position, into the adjoining woods, when several companies from the main body were ordered into the woods to dislodge them, which they gallantly effected in a very short time. The rebels then fled in every direction, closely pursued by the loyalists, and had the wings of the attacking force reached their positions a little sooner, hardly a rebel would have escaped Montgomery's Inn and premises. The rendezvous of the rebels was immediately searched—a large table was found, set out with all the delicacies of the season for Mackenzie and his rebel crew, which was soon scattered to the winds, and the house, after having been completely riddled was burnt to ashes, with the whole of the out-buildings, by the indignant Militia, who could not be restrained from inflicting this signal act of justice on so vile a traitor. The Loyalists then marched on, throwing out skirmishers to the right and left, seven miles farther; a party proceeded as far as the house of the traitor Gibson, about ten miles from town, which was also consigned to the flames.

A great number of prisoners were taken and brought to His Excellency, who, being the Representative of our gracious Sovereign, considered that he could not have a better opportunity than was then offered of exhibiting that clemency which is one of the brightest attributes of Royalty, and therefore after suitable admonition and kind advice, he pardoned them their treason and let them go, as they were evidently the dupes of their leaders. This gracious act was so unexpected that many of the prisoners burst into tears, and some of them offered their services in the cause of their Queen, from which they declared themselves to have been seduced by that vile paper, the *Constitution*. The poison contained in that vehicle of slander and treason was greedily swallowed by these simple people, who seeing no contradiction to the falsehoods it circulated, were unprovided with an antidote. The loyal people of the province may however rest assured that hereafter traitors will be dealt with according to the rigour of the laws, as the day of clemency has nearly passed.

The number of killed and wounded on the part of the rebels has not been fully ascertained, but it has been estimated at 50. Our loss only amounted to 3, slightly wounded. It was found that the rebels were very advantageously posted, and were between 300 and 400 strong, after deducting about 80 of their men detached to enter the town by the Don Bridge, and set it on fire. These men were fortunately repulsed by the guard posted at that point, but not before they had burnt down several houses on the estate of the late Simeon Washburn, Esq., adjoining the bridge. They had indeed actually fired the bridge

itself, but the flames were speedily extinguished by the exertions of the Militia.

Several flags were taken from Montgomery's house, one of them (a large red flag) bearing the following words; viz., on one side

"Victoria the 1st and Reform."

And on the other,

"Bidwell and the Glorious Majority."

"1837 and a good beginning."

This flag was doubtless intended to take the place of the Royal Ensign which floats over the Government-house, on gaining the first victory and installing the first President.

There were several other flags; one decorated with stars, another with stripes, and one plain white flag, probably intended for a flag of truce.

During the absence of the force sent to attack the rebels, the command of the city was committed to Mr. Justice Macaulay, who, as everybody knows, was formerly an active officer of the Glengarry Light Infantry, and who was busily engaged in equipping with arms the fresh volunteers who were continually hurrying in from the country.

Our unfortunate fellow-subjects who had fallen into the hands of the rebels, and were kept prisoners for nearly three days, were rescued in the woods, after having been threatened with death by Mackenzie. The day before their release, some of them asked him whether matters between him and the Government could not be accommodated, when he fiercely replied, that "Nothing could satisfy him but the head of the Lieutenant-governor."

After the complete route of the insurgents, the whole of the loyalists were formed into column, and with the splendid pair of Colours presented by His late Majesty King George the Fourth, while Regent, to the Militia of Upper Canada, marched back to the city with His Excellency at their head, amidst the long, loud, and most enthusiastic cheers of the assembled multitude who thronged the line of march. On arriving at Parliament Buildings the men were formed into solid square, when they received the thanks of His Excellency, for their gallant conduct on that day. His Excellency addressed them at some length, and when he concluded, three loud cheers from the armed Militia demonstrated the satisfaction with which his address had been received. Three cheers were then given for "The Queen and our glorious Constitution;" when His Excellency left the ground, with, as we are sure, a proud consciousness of having nobly performed his

duty—and a confirmed reliance in the loyalty and true patriotism of the brave Militia of Upper Canada.

During the whole of this eventful period, Mr. Gurnett, the Mayor of the City, and the members of the Corporation, acted with great energy and vigilance, and for their exertions the whole province owes them a debt of gratitude.

The young men of Toronto, as well as several young gentlemen who happened to be in the city, behaved with particular gallantry.

Just before taking the field, a proclamation was issued by the Lieutenant-governor, offering large rewards for the apprehension of certain of the ringleaders in this lamentable affair; viz., Mackenzie, Gibson, Lount, Loyd, and Fletcher. None of them have yet been apprehended, but it is not likely any will escape the arm of justice. It is thought that Loyd was killed in the action on Thursday, but this is not certain.

Dr. Rolph, a person of some note, secretly quitted the capital on Tuesday, and though stopped and questioned at one or two places along the road, effected his exit from Upper Canada; and, at the latest dates, was exhibiting the character of his vaunted patriotism by haranguing his audience at Lewiston, and exciting them to aid in the rebellion of which Mackenzie was the chief ostensible promoter.

Marshal S. Bidwell, having seen the flag of the rebels, and having been called to an interview at the Government-house, expressed a desire to leave the country; and having obtained his passports, on Sunday last quitted Upper Canada for ever.

Morrison, Price, Montgomery, and other traitors of less note, are under arrest, and their cases will undergo a due investigation according to law.

Great numbers of the Insurgents have already been taken. The mass of the Militia have everywhere risen in the might of an indignant and insulted people, and are determined to put down the enemies of their peace for ever. Had it been necessary, there can be no doubt that upwards of 10,000 loyalists would have been collected in Toronto in defence of their Government and constitution within a single week. Who could desire better evidence of popular sentiment on this head?

Colonel Mac Nab has been ordered, with some of the Gore Militia, to march immediately to the London district, in order to inquire into, and put down any treasonable practices in that quarter.

Of the 2,000 Newcastle Loyalists, who were precipitating themselves into Toronto, about 200 are sent to the Niagara district, where arrangements will be made to check the progress of treason.

Sir F. B. Head has also authorised the Colonels of the Militia in the Johnstown, Eastern, Bathurst, and Ottawa districts, to conform to

any requisition from Sir John Colborne for volunteers to aid in suppressing the insurrection in Lower Canada.

He has also directed regular Militia garrisons to be provided for Toronto and Kingston, who are to be kept under pay until June next.

Such, then, is the attitude which Upper Canada has assumed, at a moment when a desperate band of traitors attempted to involve her happy homes in all the horrors of civil war. Have we not reason to be proud of our country?

December 11, 1837.

Thus ended the farcical drama of Mackenzie's generalship. He fled in female attire, and undergoing several hairbreadth escapes, at last safely reached the frontier of the United States; in achieving which feat he must, at that time of the year, after a land journey of sixty or seventy miles, and in crossing the Niagara, have been well assisted by his adherents, who probably were not aware of the large rewards offered for his person. He has related some wonderful stories about his escape; but as in that part of a book which he published some years ago about Canada, where he describes his coolness, self-possession, and heroism, when a steamboat in which he was travelling on the St. Lawrence got lost in the ice and sunk, so it may be reasonably imagined his versions of his escape are tinctured with the same romance.

I think it right to present the reader with a copy of the *Extraordinary Gazette*, published after the action at Gallows Hill, both as it is a curious document, and as it describes some of the traitors who ran away, or were not made prisoners at the time.*

* *Government-house, 8th Dec.*, 1837.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-governor warmly thanks, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, the loyal and gallant Militia of

There is also another circumstance which would have required explanation, in consequence of some grave

Upper Canada, for their ready attention to the call of their country, when their services were required for putting down a cruel and unnatural rebellion.

His Excellency trusts, that the service has now been effectually rendered, and it only remains for him to take whatever steps may be necessary for the peace and security of the several districts, and to announce with much satisfaction, that there appears to be no further occasion for the resort of Militia to Toronto.

PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head, Baronet, Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, &c., &c.

To the Queen's Faithful Subjects in Upper Canada.

In a time of profound peace, while every one was quietly following his occupations, feeling secure under the protection of our laws, a band of rebels, instigated by a few malignant and disloyal men, has had the wickedness and audacity to assemble with arms, and to attack and murder the Queen's subjects on the highway — to burn and destroy their property—to rob the public mails — to threaten to plunder the banks—and to fire the city of Toronto.

Brave and loyal people of Upper Canada, we have been long suffering from the acts and endeavours of concealed traitors, but this is the first time that rebellion has dared to show itself openly in the land, in the absence of invasion by any foreign enemy.

Let every man do his duty now, and it will be the last time that we or our children shall see our lives or properties endangered, or the authority of our gracious Queen insulted by such treacherous and ungrateful men. Militia-men of Upper Canada, no country has ever shown a finer example of loyalty and spirit than you have given upon this sudden call of duty. Young and old of all ranks are flocking to the standard of their country. What has taken place will enable our Queen to know her friends from her enemies—a public enemy is never so dangerous as a concealed traitor: and now my friends let us complete well what is begun—let us not return to our rest till treason and traitors are revealed to the light of day, and rendered harmless throughout the land.

Be vigilant, patient, and active—leave punishment to the laws—our first object is, to arrest and secure all those who have been guilty of rebellion, murder, and robbery; and to aid us in this, a reward is hereby offered of One Thousand Pounds, to any one who will appre-

assertions on the part of the American press, that Mr. John Powell, a Canadian Magistrate, had committed murder in shooting Anderson. The persons who made this charge were border sympathizers, who never thought

hend, and deliver up to justice, William Lyon Mackenzie; and Five Hundred Pounds to any one who will apprehend, and deliver up to justice, David Gibson, or Samuel Lount, or Jesse Loyd, or Silas Fletcher; and the same reward and free pardon will be given to any of their accomplices who will render this public service, except he or they shall have committed, in his own person, the crime of murder or arson.

And all, but the leaders above-named, who have been seduced to join in this unnatural rebellion, are hereby called to return to their duty to their Sovereign—to obey the laws—and to live henceforward as good and faithful subjects—and they will find the Government of their Queen as indulgent as it is just.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

Thursday, Three o'clock, P.M., *7th December.*

The party of rebels under their Chief-leaders, are wholly dispersed, and flying before the Loyal Militia. The only thing that remains to be done is to find them, and arrest them.

Description of the above rebels.

One Thousand Pounds Reward for the apprehension of W. Lyon Mackenzie. He is a short man, wears a sandy-coloured wig, has small twinkling eyes that can look no man in the face—he is about five feet four or five inches in height.

Five Hundred Pounds Reward for David Gibson. He is about five feet nine or ten inches in height, red-faced, sandy hair and red whiskers, which curl rather closely—rather round-shouldered—speaks with a strong Scotch accent, age about thirty-five.

Five Hundred Pounds Reward for Samuel Lount, a tall man, say six feet or rather more, long face, sallow complexion, black hair with some gray in it—very heavy dark eyebrows—speaks rather slowly.

Five Hundred Pounds Reward for Silas Fletcher, he is about fifty years of age, hair has been black, but now mixed with gray—speaks in a peculiar and quick manner—very quick in his motions—black whiskers and rather sallow complexion—about six feet in height, and upright.

Five Hundred Pounds Reward for Jesse Loyd, he is rather an

that the subsequent assassination of Ussher* in cold blood by their brother sympathizers was of the slightest consequence or worth remark, though they should have known more of the rights of civilized life. They should have known the circumstances under which this brave gentleman acted, and they should have known that when he first heard of the atrocious murder of his venerable friend Colonel Moodie, that he must have been aware that his own life, opposed as he had ever been to Mackenzie and his disloyal companions, was not worth a moment's purchase, as soon as Anderson had made him prisoner. But let Mr. Powell speak for himself, and it is fortunate that he was persuaded to do so; for his statement, clear, concise, and manly, affords the best argument that could have been obtained to disprove the numerous assertions of the border press. I found it in an old Number of a high Tory paper, *The Toronto Patriot*, published by the late Mr. Thomas Dalton, a man of singular talent, who was formerly a merchant in the town of St. John's, Newfoundland, where I lately resided.

It is fortunate that I have had access to documents

old man, say about fifty-five years of age, long straight hair rather thin and turning gray—stoops very much in his gait, has scarcely any teeth left—one remarkably prominent, which is much observed when he speaks, very round-shouldered, and speaks with a strong Yankee accent, height about five feet ten or eleven inches; generally dresses in a drab or brown home-spun clothing.

* This gentlemen resided near Chippewa, and distinguished himself in the Navy Island affair as a captain of Militia. He was assassinated at night by some unknown persons from the frontier of the United States, who knocked at his door after he was in bed, and upon going down to ascertain the purport of their visit, he, having a light with him, was shot through the side window adjoining the door. The perpetrators have never been discovered, but they are supposed to be the same persons who destroyed Brock's monument.

produced by both the parties, which at this crisis contended for such antagonist principles in Upper Canada, as one is able by coolly comparing both, after a lapse of some years, to arrive at sound conclusions; and these are the more useful now, when Canada is in the fiery furnace of political strife, undergoing the purifying process which will, I trust, separate the base metals from the nobler in the composition of her Constitution. But to Mr. John Powell.*

* "*Toronto, 14th Feb.*, 1838.

"Sir,—Having been repeatedly called upon by many of my friends, and now by you, to furnish an account of the occurrence with which I was connected on Monday evening, 4th December, 1838, I have much pleasure in inclosing you a short account of what took place between Mr. Macdonell, the rebels, and myself. I did not intend this statement should ever meet the public eye, as it was written entirely for the satisfaction of my nearest relations. But since the American press has published an incorrect version of the affair, in which I am called a murderer, I deem it right that a true statement should at present be laid before the public. Before doing so, however, I feel it but justice to myself to state, that my going out on Yonge-street on that eventful night was entirely of my own accord, and that I was actuated solely by a sense of my duty as a Magistrate, without consulting with or being directed by any authority superior to my own;—except indeed by that merciful Providence, by whose interference only our city was saved from destruction.

"I remain, Sir, yours truly,

"JOHN POWELL."

"Mr. Thomas Dalton."

On Monday evening, December 4th, about nine o'clock, when engaged at the City Hall in swearing in special constables and distributing arms, I found, from the number of Magistrates present, I could be of more service in taking charge of several volunteers, who had assembled to patrol on horseback the approaches to the city during the night, for the purpose of reconnoitring the body of rebels said to be assembling, and more particularly those who were reported to be in arms on Yonge-street. Mr. A. Macdonell offered to accompany me, as I had determined to take the Yonge-street road myself.

Everybody likes to talk of themselves when stirring events are on the carpet; and it is a harmless egotism,

Just as I had made my arrangements, Captain Fitzgibbon, Mr. Brock, and Mr. Bellingham, rode up to the Hall. Captain Fitzgibbon told me of his intention to go out, and I said we would accompany him. Mr. Macdonell went home for his horse, intending to meet me on Yonge-street, and I rode with Captain Fitzgibbon to the foot of Yonge-street, where I left him to go to my own house for arms. When I loaded my gun, I found I had no caps, so abandoned the idea of taking it, and proceeded to overtake the party, having only two small pistols lent me by the High-bailiff, as I left the Hall. I went alone as far as the Sheriff's-hill (about a mile from the city), where I met Captain Fitzgibbon returning alone; he said "Brock and Bellingham have gone on." I came back with him as far as the toll-gate, where we met Macdonell coming to join us. Captain Fitzgibbon then said all was quiet up the street, and he would return to town. Mr. Macdonell and myself agreed we would proceed up the street to overtake Brock and Bellingham. We were going leisurely along, when, at the rise of the Blue-hill, four persons on horseback met us; we thought they were our friends; but as we approached, Mackenzie himself advanced and ordered us to halt; the others immediately surrounded us. Mackenzie was armed with a large horse-pistol; the rest had rifles. Mackenzie then told us we were his prisoners. I demanded by what authority? He replied, he would let us know his authority soon. Anderson (one of them) said, their authority was their rifles. Mackenzie asked us many questions as to the force in town? what guard at the Governor's? and whether we expected an attack that night? To all these questions I returned for answer, He might go to town and find out. This appeared to enrage him very much, and he ordered Anderson and Sheppard to march us to the rear and "Hurry on the men." Anderson took charge of me; Sheppard of Macdonell. I went first; Macdonell was about ten yards in the rear. Anderson was very abusive towards the Governor, and said he would let "Bond Head know something before long." I asked him of what he had to complain, and reasoned with him on the impropriety of their conduct. He replied, "They had borne tyranny and oppression too long, and were now determined to have a government of their own." From all I could gather from him, I found the rebels were then on their march to town for the purpose of surprising it, and that they (the four persons who took us prisoners) were the "advanced guard." Opposite Mr. Howard's gate a person on horseback met us; Anderson ordered him to halt, and asked him who he was? He replied, "Thompson."

because, if not carried too far, it helps to interest the reader in the perusal of dry historical details.

I had a very fine Newfoundland-dog in my possession when I was ordered from Toronto to Kingston, just

I immediately said, "Mr. Thompson, I claim your protection; I am a prisoner." The person recognised my voice, and said, "Powell, the rebels have shot poor Colonel Moodie, and are coming on to town." He then put spurs to his horse, and succeeded in passing them; they turned round to fire, but were prevented by our both being between them and Brooke, who was the person we met. Upon this intelligence, I made up my mind, and determined to make my escape at any hazard, as I felt confident the salvation of the town depended upon correct information being given at once. I made several attempts to fall back; but Anderson, who had me, threatened if I attempted to escape, he would "drive a ball through me." I went on as far as Mr. Heath's gate, when I suddenly drew my pistol and fired, not being more than two feet from him; he fell, and I instantly set off full speed down the street; Macdonell did so likewise. Sheppard followed, and fired; the ball passed between us. Macdonell was far in the advance; I shouted to him to ride hard and give the alarm, as my horse would not keep up. At the Sheriff's-hill we were again met by Mackenzie and the other persons. Mackenzie rode after me and presenting his pistol at my head, ordered me to stop. I turned on my horse and snapped my remaining pistol in his face; the pistol must have touched him, I was so near; his horse either took fright, or he could not stop him, and he got some little distance in front of me. I drew up suddenly at Dr. Baldwin's-road, galloped up about twenty yards, and then jumped off my horse and ran through the woods. I heard them pursue me; lay down behind a log for a few minutes;—a person on horseback was within ten yards of the place where I lay. I then ran down through the College-fields and avenue, keeping near the fence. I went immediately to Government-house, and after some little difficulty saw the Governor in bed. I related to him in a few words what had passed; he seemed to doubt whether I could be certain as to Mackenzie, but at last appeared to take the alarm. From Government-house I proceeded to the City Hall.

Macdonell was recaptured at the Toll-gate, and neither Brookes nor any other person arrived in town until the bells were ringing.

Lount has told several persons that the death of Anderson alone prevented their coming in that night.—*Toronto Patriot.*

before the rebellion broke out. I lived in an isolated house on the lake shore, the only isolated house in front of the city, and the dog was a remarkably ferocious one; and, as the beach below my garden was the constant resort of smugglers and idlers, I let him always loose after dark, to prevent access to the premises. He became consequently well-known, and, in more than one instance, seized an intruder at night. When I was going, I directed a butcher to sell this faithful animal to anybody of respectability who wanted a yard dog of great power and fidelity. Dr. Horne, of the Bank, whose residence was on the Yonge-street-road, just outside of the city, bought him. The rebels attacked his house, which was valiantly defended by the dog after the inmates had evacuated the premises, and poor Carlo, who, it seemed, did not like thieves of any description, after fighting to the last, was consigned to the flames when they had set fire to the building. So perished a faithful servant, and it added one link to the chain of villanous misery which Mackenzie inflicted upon man and beast opposed to his demoralizing course. He burnt Dr. Horne's house, because he was cashier of the Upper Canada Bank, which they were on the way to plunder, the treasury money for the payment of the troops having been deposited in its vaults. He burnt my old servant Carlo because he defended his new master's property. I had afterwards the distinction of being with Sir Francis Head and others inscribed on his fatal roll,—on that roll which was to decimate Upper Canada. But he was not going to burn me; no, I, with some hundreds of men, better or worse as it may be than myself, were merely to be hung. Perhaps the

concoctors of that fatal roll thought with the Persian officers, who were at Woolwich some years ago for their military education. I must tell the story, for when I get into a story-telling humour, I am very apt to follow Sterne's example of digressing, but then, readers, recollect, if you please, I am writing in the dull depth of winter, and, like a Siberian exile, recollections will force themselves across me of brighter climes and of more varied life. Here, for several months, breakfast, luncheon, dinner, official business, composition, a walk in the snow or in the slop, and sleep, embrace the twenty-four hours, of which eight only may absolutely be said to be passed in the light of day. Well, there were three Persian officers studying at Woolwich when I was last quartered there. They were named Mirza Eeza, or Iza, Mirza Jaffa, and Mirza Sala. One was an artillery, one an engineer, and the other a medical officer. They were diligent, became acquainted with the English language, customs, and policy, besides many other things which we outer barbarians know, and which the brothers of the sun and moon seldom dream of.

Like all persons obtaining a smattering of knowledge, my friends became a little too inquisitive about Divine right, and other abstract questions, concerning royalty, not very likely to please the Shah. In short, they leaped too soon from absolute darkness into a blaze of light, and the glare was great for their weak eyes.

We were discussing one day the probable effect their knowledge would have upon their countrymen when they returned, and whether His Royal Highness the king of kings would relish their being wiser than

himself, and how the muftis and the cadis would take it.

Ignorance is always envious, a maxim older than the Koran, and they thought it not unlikely they might be envied.

"Supposing that to happen, what would be the result?"

"Oh!" said the Artilleryman and the Doctor, "the bowstring or the scimetar settles all these *little* differences in Persia."

"Ah, but," slily observed the Engineer, "I wear the green turban; they can only put out my eyes."

Reader, the green turban denotes, all over Mahometdom, a descendant of the Prophet.

Well then, you will say, What has this to do with Sir Francis Head, Mackenzie, and yourself? I answer meekly, as Mirza Sala did, I suppose he thought burning too great a punishment for any man connected with literature which he aspired to be thought a fellow-commoner of, and therefore he graciously commuted the sentence in the cases of Sir Francis, myself, and other educated persons, to hanging. If he had been caught, as the reader will find he was twice very nearly afterwards, I am afraid literature would not have saved him from the vengeance of his insulted country, although I was by no means aware, until long afterwards, that I was, with excellent company, an humble name on his proscribed lists.

But to return to a more worthy theme. Toronto having now been placed in security by the simultaneous march of 10,000 or 12,000 Militia-men from the Newcastle, Gore, Home, Niagara, Eastern, and other

districts towards it, some from the distance of 200 miles, in the middle of a Canadian winter, unprovided with the means of transport, bedding, or warm clothes; such was their loyal zeal, Sir Francis Head turned his attention towards the assistance of the Commander-in-chief in Lower Canada, by directing the Militia of Glengarry and the eastern districts of Upper Canada, to join the army. He also authorized me, as I have already said, to raise any force that might be requisite for the security of Kingston, the key of the province, and he placed a garrison in the fort at Toronto. But Dr. Duncombe, ex-member of the Provincial Parliament, a person who has already been named, had got up a farcical show of rebellion in the London district, where he had been extremely active in spreading disaffection amongst that portion of the settlers, whose equivocal loyalty had been noticed as early as in the time of the first Governor Simcoe.

Colonel M'Nab, of the Gore Militia, was therefore ordered to march with 500 Militiamen and Volunteers against this vapouring chief. This service was performed in the most satisfactory manner by the gallant Speaker of the House of Assembly; and suffice it to observe, that Dr. Duncombe left his deluded followers as soon as he found himself in danger; but some singular and treasonable correspondence and papers were discovered, and the snake of rebellion in the London district was scotched, but not killed.

I think it due to the loyal and most excellent Militia of Upper Canada, that before I go further into the doings of that eventful period, I should tell the British reader of facts which came under my immediate notice,

although I run the risk of being accused of making them the vehicle to bring myself into the *tableau.* I am now too old, however, to care much on that score.

Such was the enthusiasm excited by the daring attempts of Papineau and Bidwell, that I have no doubt whatever that, at one time, forty thousand British Canadians were in arms to uphold the power of the Queen.

Sir Francis Head has observed, in his "Narrative," that he was obliged to send the volunteers, who arrived in shoals at Toronto, back to their homes; and that ten or twelve thousand brave fellows marched to assist him there from all points of the compass. So it was at Kingston. I recollect perfectly that after consulting with the indefatigable Magistrates there, as to the best mode of securing the town from enemies within and without; for there were always plenty of American sympathizers from the frontiers, in the taverns and lodging-houses, and in the neighbouring country places; that although they met at a late hour at night, after my receiving the despatch by the *Traveller* steamboat, before midnight the inhabitants were armed, patrolled the streets, cut off all connection with the frontier and back country, and were organized most effectually. In the course of twenty-four hours afterwards, or as soon as the news of the attack upon Toronto was known, Militiamen poured into Kingston, the fort and barracks and batteries were occupied, and the immense dépôt of ordnance stores, of provisions, gunpowder, arms, camp equipage, money, &c., was placed in perfect security; and to show their zeal, the lake front of Kingston, a most extended and open line, was patrolled,

occupied and sealed securely, notwithstanding the rigour of the climate. In short, on the 13th of December, only seven days after the despatch had arrived, dated at midnight on the 4th of December, 1837, announcing that Toronto was about to be attacked, I found myself at the head of the undermentioned permanently-constituted corps for the defence of Kingston :—the 1st and 2nd Frontenac Infantry Regiments; the 1st and 2nd Addington Infantry Regiments; the Queen's Marine Artillery, officered by officers of the Royal Navy, or by the captains of the lake steam vessels, and composed of a fine and most formidable body of sailors, who were clothed uniformly in blue pilot-cloth frocks, reaching to the knees, blue trowsers, and a large fur cap, with belt and bayonet, pistols and light muskets, with a proportion of cutlasses and boarding-pikes. The non-commissioned officers distinguished by white anchors on the arm. They composed four companies, or stations of fifty men each, commanded by a captain and a first and second lieutenant; the whole under an officer of the Navy, Lieutenant Harper, who had the rank of Major. The very appearance of these fine fellows, who soon became adepts in the field-gun and heavy ordnance exercises, and could take their share of garrison infantry duties, was a source of much uneasiness to the sympathizers, who "guessed they were ugly customers." This corps occupied the block houses, the lake batteries, and had charge of the approach to the town by the ice. The severity of the services they had to perform may be imagined by the military reader, when I say that the channel in front of Kingston is four miles across,

and presents after Christmas, usually, one unbroken sheet of ice, with the thermometer frequently below zero, and descending sometimes to twenty-seven degree minus that point. They built a snow breast-work, connecting Point Frederick battery with Mississagua Point battery, on the ice; and thus kept up a constant line of night picquets, as it were, under cover of fortifications made of ice and snow.

The Frontenac Light Dragoons, under Captain Wilson, a very handsomely mounted and well-equipped corps, — provided by themselves with a blue uniform, faced with buff, and bearskin helmet,—consisted of one captain, one lieutenant, one cornet, quartermaster, troop-serjeant-major, and eighty men, who were chiefly young heroes of the town. The efficiency of this well-regulated troop soon evinced itself. They were posted at different assailable positions round the town at night, and ten of them were told off to form a portion of the line of despatch from Montreal to Toronto, a distance of nearly 400 miles.

The Frontenac and Addington Infantry I shall have occasion to speak of again. They were clothed by Government in a uniform excellently adapted to a Canadian winter campaign. It consisted of a flannel red shirt, a pair of mittens, or woollen gloves without fingers, a strong pair of boots, with iron creepers, or ice pattens, a pair of gray trowsers, and a light gray great coat, over which the bayonet and pouch-belt was worn, a light musket, and a warm fur-cap. These excellent men were soon taught the infantry exercise and manœuvres under two able officers, Captain Cameron and Lieutenant Bate, my adjutants, and who

had both been distinguished non-commissioned officers in the line, and thus they were able, in less than two months, to go through many evolutions with the utmost steadiness and precision.

This, with the undermentioned garrison-staff, was the first permanent Militia garrison of the most important place in Upper Canada:

Two Adjutants,—Captain Cameron, formerly of 79th Highlanders; Lieutenant Bate, formerly of 66th Regiment.

Quartermaster,—Thomas Campbell, formerly serjeant-major of 79th Highlanders, a man who had signalized himself at Waterloo, and had three medals.

Paymaster,—Captain Nickalls, 1st Frontenac, afterwards Clerk of the Peace at Kingston.

Surgeon,—Dr. Baker, 1st Frontenac.

Assistant-surgeon,—Dr. Robinson.

Orderly Officer and Staff-adjutant,—Captain Bonnycastle, 3rd Prince Edward Infantry.

Two staff serjeant-majors, two staff quartermaster-serjeants.

This record of the Militia garrison of Kingston is more dwelt upon, because that city was lately the capital of Canada, and it will be grateful to the citizens.

Such was the nucleus from which, in a short time afterwards, the garrison became a permanent one; and, to do justice to all, I have copied (page 314) one of the returns kept on purpose, which will be a pleasing memento to many a family and person around and in that rising city.

Besides the corps enumerated, the Leeds Militia, the Lanark, and several others from the Johnstown and Prince Edward Districts occasionally were in garrison, and many were obliged to return home for want of room; in short, as at Toronto, many regiments and detachments of Militia and Volunteers were turned back on the march or sent home for want of adequate accommodation in the barracks and in the town.

The whole months of December, 1837, part of January, and the latter end of February, 1838, were in fact occupied by the continual influx and reflux of the brave Yeomanry of the Eastern, Midland, Prince Edward, and Hastings Militia, who, on the first alarm left their homes to rally round Old England's flag, and the usually quiet streets and neighbourhood of Kingston now echoed day and night, either to the tread of marching men, to the neighing of the eager steed, or to the war-notes of the drum and the trumpet, the roaring of the cannon, the sullen boom of the mortar, and the awful hissing and rending noise of the Congreve rocket, that terrible weapon so well adapted to clear an expanse of ice.

Return of the Effective Militia and Volunteer Force at Kingston, Royal Engineers,

Description of Force.	Field Officers.	Capts.	Subalts.
CAVALRY.			
Frontenac Light Dragoons	—	1	2
1st and 2nd Addington Light Dragoons	—	2	4
1st Hastings Light Dragoons	—	1	—
ARTILLERY.			
Queen's Marine Artillery	1	4	9
Perth Artillery	—	1	2
INFANTRY.			
1st and 2nd Frontenac	1	6	12
2nd and 3rd Prince Edward	—	2	3
1st and 2nd Addington	—	3	6
2nd Lenox	—	1	1
Belleville Rifles	—	1	2
Total	2	26	49
WARRIORS.	Leader.	Chiefs.	
Mohawks	1	3	—
Militia and Indian Total	3	29	49
MILITIA VOLUNTEERS AND INDEPENDENT COMPANIES.			
Capt. Cameron's, Long Island.....	—	1	1
Capt. Saunders, opposite Hickory Island	—	1	1
Capt. Matthewson's Kingston Mills and Locks of Rideau.....	—	1	1
Capt. Spencer's, Capt. Dorland's, and Capt. M'Neil's	—	3	3
Capt. M'Annany, 2nd Hastings, on line of road to back Townships	—	1	2
Capt. M'Kenzie, 2nd Hastings, ditto ...	—	1	2
Town-guard Volunteers.....	1	3	3
Detachment at Napanee	—	1	—
Ditto at Waterloo	—	6	1
Total under arms for defence of Kingston	1	12	14
Add regular Militia and Indians ..	3	29	49
	4	41	63

With a chain of express Dragoons and small outposts of 31
92 warriors, 1668 rank

Upper Canada, under the command of Lieutenant-col. Bonnycastle, March 1st, 1838.

Serjnts.	Rank and File.	Horses.	Remarks.
3	74	81	Capt. T. Wilson.
9	92	107	Capt. Fralick, 1st Addington. Capt. Clark, 2nd ditto.
1	10	12	Lieutenant Fralick.
4	174	1	Major Harper. Capt. Clark, R.N., Capt. Taylor, R.N., Capt. Bowen, Capt. Tildesley, R.N.
2	42	—	Capt. Graham.
25	302	5	1st Frontenac, Major D. J. Smith. Capt. Macfarlane, Capt. Meagher, Capt. Askew, 2nd Frontenac, Capt. Beach, Capt. M'Gregor.
7	69	—	Capt. Young and Capt. Dougall.
11	126	—	Capt. Lockwood, Clarke, and Wheeler.
2	31	—	Capt. Frazer.
2	45	—	Capt. Murney, served at Gananoqui.
78	1154	206	
	Warriors		Capt. Perth Leader.
—	70	—	11 more detached to Gananoqui.
78	1224	206	
2	40	—	Long Island Militia.
2	45	—	3rd Frontenac.
1	30	—	3rd Frontenac.
3	100	—	1st and 2nd Lenox.
2	50	—	Prince Edward Militia.
2	45	—	Ditto ditto.
—	100	—	Major Sampson.
1	12	—	Napanee Militia, 2nd Lenox, Capt. and Major M'Pherson.
—	12	—	1st Frontenac.
13	434	—	
78	1234	206	
92	1668	206	

men, making altogether 108 officers, 1 Indian leader, 3 chiefs, and file, and 226 horses.

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